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CATHOLICS

AND THE

American Revolution

BY

MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN

VOLUME I

Back of the events which led to the formation of the Republic the Church sees the Providence of God leading to that issue.

We believe that our Country's heroes were the instruments of the God of Nations in establishing this Home of Freedom ; to both the Almighty and to His instruments in the work we look with grateful reverence.

Teach your children to take a special interest in the History of our own Country.

We consider the establishment of our Country's Independence the shaping of its Liberties and Laws, as a work of special Providence ; its framers "building wiser than they knew," the Almighty Hand guiding them. If ever the glorious fabric is subverted or impaired, it will be by men forgetful of the sacrifices of the heroes that reared it, the virtues that cemented it and the principles on which it rests.

We must keep firm and solid the Liberties of our Country by keeping fresh the noble memories of the past and thus sending forth from our Catholic homes into the arena of public life, not Partisans but Patriots.

[*Pastoral Letter of the Fathers of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, December 7th 1884.*]

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DEDICATION

TO MY GRANDSON

MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN, III

IN THE HOPE THAT HE MAY BE

DUTIFUL TO CHURCH

AND

DEVOTED TO COUNTRY

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A MANIFESTATION

PATRONS:

The Contents of this book present in a more compact and ready-to-use form the articles on CATHOLICS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION which appeared in THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL RESEARCHES 1906 and 1907.

Though somewhat disjointed in the manner of presentation they are yet a revelation of the activity of Catholics in the endeavor for Liberty and Independence and in the achievement of Freedom.

No desire existed nor was effort made to present solely pro-Revolutionary matter. Such counter information which came to the surface has also been used if only to show that among Catholics as among all other classes of the colonists there existed a division of opinion.

Laudation of "The Patriot" or condemnation of "The Loyalist" has not been indulged in. The only desire has been to present some of the records showing transactions in which Catholics were engaged without regard to the position which the actors held in the great struggle for political Right and Social Reform.

My purpose has not been to write a connected history of the services of Catholics of the Revolution, but simply to supply a portion of the material for such a graphic and thoughtful study of the subject by those indisposed to seek the information from original sources or illy adapted by mental indisposition from engaging in the tedious work of seeking it.

This Volume, though containing so much illustrative of the activity of Catholics, very inadequately shows the available material relating to the subject. The absence of any relation of the careers of Commodore John Barry, General Stephen Moylan and his brothers, of Captain Thomas FitzSimons, of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, of Kosciusko, of Oliver Pollock, of Father Gibault, or Colonel Francis Vigo, of General DuCoudray, and others of the French Officers and Chaplains and many others conspicuous for services in the great Battle for Freedom, as well as those of lesser but most worthy names, known and unknown, of our coreligionists makes this record of CATHOLICS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION now presented incomplete without their services being presented to the country. So I must strive to complete the record more fully and show a more extended manifestation of the services Catholics gave to the winning of the Independence of our Country.

So if God spares my life and gives me the strength to do the work, I hope in two years, if a patronage is given me such as this Volume has received, to offer to my good will friends and helpers a Second Volume on the subject.

I express my gratitude to the Patrons of this Book. Of very many thousands who have been solicited to aid in publishing the work those named have responded. Without their support the work would not have appeared. With their co-operation I hope to do more that will win their approving encouragement.

MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN,

RIDLEY PARK, Sept. 17, 1907.

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Catholics and the American Revolution

"WE BELIEVE THAT OUR COUNTRY'S HEROES WERE THE INSTRUMENTS OF THE GOD OF NATIONS IN ESTABLISHING THIS HOME OF FREEDOM."—[*Fathers of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore.*]

THE ANTIPATHY OF THE PATRIOTS TO THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AN ACTIVE FACTOR IN BRINGING ON THE REVOLUTION.

"American Independence," says Bancroft, "like the great rivers of the country, had many sources."

It was not due solely to oppressive tax laws nor to restrictions on popular rights. Indeed though these hold the main place in the popular narration of causes which brought on the Revolt, it is a question for historical consideration whether these oppressions alone would have moved the body of the people to acts of resistance had not Religion been a moving force upon the minds of the people. The active malcontents or leaders of the Revolt sought to impress upon the people that Protestantism had been assailed and might in America be overthrown.

The contest with Great Britain is called the Revolution. In that alone is epitomized an active principle which brought on the Revolt and gave it force. The overthrow of James II. was called "The Glorious Revolution." The very name "Revolution" simply

meant that the Colonists struggled for the principles won by "The Glorious Revolution" of 1688. The American Tories were asked if they had lived at that time whether they would not have been Revolutionists."—[Marshal's *Washington*, ii, p. 65, App.]

"William III. of England divested the Sceptre of Britain from a bigot and a tyrant, effected a glorious revolution in religion and government and laid the foundations of that perfect liberty which we enjoy."—[*Philanthropos, Am. Museum*, iv, p. 229.]

So when the controversy with England became bitter, heated Americans declared they wished to preserve the fruits of the Revolution of 1688 and not to allow the King and Ministry to "nullify the principles and sap the foundation of 'The Glorious Revolution' that exalted the House of Hanover to the British throne" [Rev. Gordon], but to maintain that system of public and personal liberty secured by the Revolution (1688) [Rev. Smith]. They even reminded King George of this and ever declared themselves Protestants faithful to the principles of the days of 1688 and to the House of Hanover then seated on the throne.

That religious prejudices were a moving cause of our Revolution is most clearly proven by the words and conduct of the Americans after the passage of the Quebec Act by Parliament in June, 1774. This but gave vent and force to the anti-Catholic spirit already existing.

When we consider the influence of Religion, whether in its truth or in its error, on men's actions, we may readily agree that when the Americans came to consider their Religion—Protestantism—as involved, this inspiring motive to action brought results amazing in their greatness and instructive in their lessons. We will, then, give ample evidence that an active motive of the Americans in taking up arms against Great Britain was the belief of large and influential numbers that the Protestant Religion was being assailed and threatened with suppression, and that the fear of "Popery" was, after all, the incentive which made great numbers of the Colonists take up arms who could not have been moved to activity by recitals of oppressive tax laws which affected not directly the great body of the people though they may have those in mercantile pursuits.

It will be shown how self-preservation quieted these fears, when the hours of desolation and doubt came, and how the French Alliance in 1778 cheered the hearts of the Patriots, and how, even

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with that added hope and force, many abandoned the struggle for Liberty rather than accept the aid of a Catholic Nation and thereby subject the land to the deadly influence of "Popery."

In all the Colonies except Pennsylvania ("the land of toleration," *Jefferson*), the exercise of the Catholic religion was debarred or its public exercise restricted. In Rhode Island no restriction of law existed but no Catholics are known to have been there. In Pennsylvania alone did real and full Religious Liberty exist. Even here its members were civilly restricted by oaths required by law of England from officials which a Catholic could not take had any been chosen to office.

THE QUEBEC ACT.

The Act of the British Parliament which brought on the actual war—the fighting—was the Quebec Act of 1774, enlarging the boundaries of the Province of Quebec so that the western section of the country bordering New York and Pennsylvania and a portion of Virginia had Canadian territory as their boundaries. This it was charged, was to "hem in" the Colonies. But the Quebec Act did worse, as the Colonists viewed it. It "established Popery in Canada." That was but the entering wedge to establishing it over the "free Protestant Colonies."

The Act, however, simply gave the Canadian Clergy the right they had possessed prior to 1763 when under France—the right of tithes for the support of Religion.

This Act was "the last straw," as Henry Armitt Brown declared in his oration at Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, on the Centennial Anniversary of the Assemblying of the First Continental Congress.

The Dissenters were "in the vast majority" in the British Provinces [*Bancroft*]. They were the early and active resisters of England's claims and fiery denunciators of the Quebec Act. "The true cause of such violent animosity can be nothing but that the Americans (particularly those of New England) being chiefly Dissenters and Whigs."—[*Address of Protestant Dissenters of all Denominations on Approaching Election of Members of Parliament;* London, 1774. p. 5.]

So when the Quebec Act aroused the anti-Catholic prejudices of these Dissenters "of all denominations," there "never was in history so general a commotion from which religious differences

have been so entirely excluded," said Rev. John Witherspoon, signer of the Declaration and President of Princeton College, in his Fast Day sermon, seventeenth May, 1776. Resistance to "Popery" was the cementing sentiment. This Scotch Presbyterian Minister also declared "the most violent persecution which many eminent Christians met with in England from their brethren, who called themselves Protestants, drove them in great numbers to a distant part of the world where the light of the Gospel and true religion were unknown."

So the Dissenters hated Prelacy and Popery and had resisted all efforts to establish Bishops of the Church of England in America, though Sherlock, Bishop of London, in 1748, had written the King that such were "essential to Royal authority." [*Bancroft.*] Thus the Dissenters had "a fear of the Church of England," as John Adams said, as well as a hatred of Popery. They believed "the Almighty will not suffer Slavery and the Gospel to go hand in hand," as the New York Representatives said to their constitutents in 1776.

The *Declaration of Independence* is the Charter of American Liberty. Yet the title "*Declaration*" was taken from the "Declaration of the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal and Commons assembled at Westminister," and also from the *Declarations* of the Estates of Scotland as well as similar documents during the controversy with James II.

So the model, the inspirator of the American Patriots, were the principles of "The Glorious Revolution" which overthrew that King and established Protestantism in England. The Patriots would not brook any divergence from nor any weakening of those principles in America. They had been in agitation for years over the suggestions, if not the endeavor, to establish Bishops of the Church by law established in England over any of the Colonies in America.

So when the Quebec Act "established," as they declared, "Popery" in Canada and recognized the Clergy as entitled to exact tithes for the support of "Popery," the Patriots simply accepted the so doing as evidence that soon the same nefarious course would be resorted to over the Colonies south of Canada. To prevent that they took down their guns not at first to defend their homes but to rush to Canada to capture that country, if possible, and to strive to gain it in alliance if not in union.

Long before the Revolution Canada and its Catholics had been a source of alarm and discontent to the British Provinces.

There were contests on the northeast as to the boundary lines. In 1749, the Earl of Halifax as First Commissioner of Plantations, to secure the disputed territory, endeavored to colonize Nova Scotia with Protestants and issued invitations to the Protestants of Europe to emigrate to the British Provinces. On the west to resist France, grants of land on both sides of Ohio were made to a Virginia Colony so as to take possession of the valley of the Mississippi. [*Bancroft.*] In 1756 a colony was projected "100 miles west of Pennsylvania to 100 miles west of Mississippi" in which "No member of the Church of Rome shall be able to hold any lands or real estate in the Province nor be allowed to be the owners of, or to have any arms or ammunition in their possession on any pretence whatsoever, nor shall any Mass house or Popish chapels be allowed in the Province." [*The Remembrancer or Impartial Repository of Public Events.* Part III for the year 1776. London, J. Almon, p. 131.] The "undefined state of the possessions between the European competitors for North America" prompted these colonization projects not only to secure possession of the land but to "resist the inroads of Popery" from Canada.

Thus the public mind had for a generation before the Revolution been concerned and agitated with respect to the Canadian Catholics. Hence the bitterness of heart which aroused the Dissenters of New England and of the Presbyterians of the other Colonies when the Quebec Act "established" the Catholic religion in Canada as they believed it did.

With this spirit existing throughout the Colonies, we can readily understand that the passage of the Quebec Act by the British Parliament but increased the anti-Catholic spirit, and why that Act was regarded as a measure for the suppression of their liberties and as the price paid for Catholic Canadian co-operation in the "enslavement of the Protestant colonies."

Canada was always an annoyance to the British Provinces.

When France held it the fears of Canadian intrigues with the Indians kept the colonies in agitation even when not at war. The colonies never were quiet from these alarms.

As early as 1744 Franklin in "PLAIN TRUTH" had asked, "Are there no priests among us, think you, that might give an enemy good

encouragement. It is well known we have numbers of the same religion with those who lately encouraged the French to invade our mother country."

Such, then, was the spirit of the early days of the Revolution and the actuating motive which largely filled the army. The Presbyterians of Pennsylvania and the Congregationalists of New England were especially moved by this anti-Catholic antipathy.

But the Revolution went on moved by an anti-Catholic spirit until the French Alliance brought a revulsion in the mind of the great body of the Americans. Aid being necessary the alliance with a Catholic Nation was not to be despised, though very many deserted the cause of America on that account, solely. It formed one of Arnold's excuses for his treason as he set forth in his Address to the Soldiers of the American Army.

After Arnold's treason he issued an "Address to officers and soldiers of Continental army." "Even their last stake Religion he represented to be in such danger as to have no other security than what depended upon the exertion of the parent country for their deliverance. In proof or illustration of that he asserted a fact upon his own knowledge, viz: that he had lately seen their mean and profligate congress at Mass* for the soul of a Roman Catholic in Purgatory and participating in the rites of a Church against whose anti-Christian corruptions their pious ancestors would have witnessed with their blood.—[Dodsley's *Register*, 1781, p. 48.]

With the Alliance came a change of attitude on the "Popery" point. The Congress and distinguished Patriots assisted at *Te Deums*, at Requiems and did nothing to offend the religious sensibilities of the French Ministers, Gèrard and Luzerne.

The British adherents and the American Loyalists then became the party charging "Popery" upon the "Rebels" and endeavoring to lessen their power by setting forth the direful results to come by the Alliance with a Nation of Catholics. They represented the Colonies as becoming subservient tools of the French Papists.

EVIDENCES OF THE HOSTILITY OF THE AMERICAN PATRIOTS TO THE CHURCH.

To sustain this view of the condition of affairs and the general sentiment of the people "let facts be submitted to a candid world."

* The Mass was the Requiem at St. Mary's, Philadelphia, for Don Juan de Miralles.

They are herewith submitted in sufficiency to justify the view held as to the force and activity of a spirit of hostility to the Catholic Religion. Many more than those presented could be cited.

"At a meeting of the Delegates of every Town and District in the County of Suffolk Mass. [Boston] on September 6th, 1774" after declaring "the Torrent of Panegyrists will roll our Reputations to that latest Period when the Streams of Time shall be absorbed in the Abyss of Eternity."

"*Resolved*, 10. That the late Act of Parliament for establishing the Roman Catholic Religion and the French laws in that extensive Country now called Quebec, is dangerous in an extreme degree to the Protestant Religion and to the Civil Rights and Liberties of all America; and therefore as Men and Protestant Christians we are indispensibly obliged to take all proper Measures for our Security."—[*Journal*, Congress, vol. i, p. 16, or p. 35 of new edition by the Library of Congress.]

When the Bill of Parliament [March, 1774,] for the closing of the Port of Boston reached that city it was printed as a broadside and circulated. At the bottom of the Bill was the following advertisement:

TO BE SOLD

BY S. SOUTHWICK

A MASTER KEY TO POPERY

In five parts, containing 300 large octavo pages, price 4 Shillings, being as cheap a book of the kind as ever was printed in Europe or America. And highly necessary to be kept in every Protestant family in this country; that they may see to what a miserable state the people are reduced in all arbitrary and tyrannical governments, and be thereby excited to stand on their guard against the infernal machinations of the British ministers and their vast *host* of tool, emissaries &c. &c. sent hither to propagate the principals of popery and slavery which go hand in hand as inseparable companions.

[Advertisement at bottom of broadside: ACT FOR BLOCKING UP THE HARBOR OF BOSTON.—Du Simitiere Collection. F. 960, Ridgway Library, Philadelphia.]

"Popery and Slavery go hand in hand," said Southwick in 1774. His son in 1826 was editor of the *National Observer* at Albany, New

York, when he said his "good father" had published this book but a "new light burst on us." He found that "Catholics and the fighters for Freedom went hand in hand."—[RESEARCHES, 1904, p. 15.]

The Quebec Bill was, to adopt the language of the day, an Act to "establish the Catholic religion in Canada." As usual in excited popular controversies there was much misrepresentation and misunderstanding of the actual scope and meaning of the Act. "More lies and misrepresentations concerning this Act have been circulated than one would think malice and falsehood could invent."—[*A Friendly Address to all Sensible Americans.* New York, 1774, p. 20.]

The popular understanding was that Popery was to be "established" in Canada, that King George, in order to overawe the British Provinces had done so to secure the co-operation and assistance of the Catholics of Canada in his measures of oppression of the discontented English Colonies. "England sought to create under its own auspices a distinct empire, suited to coerce her original Colonies and restrain them from aspiring to independence"—"The Roman Catholic religion was as effectually established in Canada as the Presbyterian Church in Scotland." [*Bancroft.*]

When the news of the passage of the Quebec Act came to an already excited land and the people were made to believe that it not only enlarged the boundaries of that country, but "established" the Catholic religion, they accepted it as proof that King George had sought to conciliate the Canadians and make them "fit instruments" to overawe and overpower the Colonists.

How this Quebec Act was regarded by the people let a few of the almost innumerable evidences suffice.

The nature and extent of the authority of Parliament over the Colonies was discussed everywhere, till it was discovered that it was none at all; a conclusion still more forcibly impressed upon the people by the Canada Bill, by which the Roman Catholic religion and Popish Bishops were established in that province by authority of a British Parliament. The people said, if Parliament can do this in Canada, they can do the same in all the other Colonies; and they began to see, and freely to say, that Parliament had no authority over them in any case whatsoever. John Adams to Rev. Dr. Morse.—[Morse's *Revolution*, p. 206.]

Besides by this Act the boundaries of the province were extended considerably beyond the limits assigned to it by the treaty in 1763, the Government of Quebec was converted into the most odious despotism, and the Catholic clergy placed upon a footing in direct hostility to the genius and spirit of the American Colonies. This should not fail to alarm them for the safety of the Protestant religion, the free enjoyment of which, according to the dictates of their consciences, had been the chief cause of the first emigrations. Hence, in all subsequent meetings of the people, as well as in the proceedings of Congress, this subject was mentioned as one of the grievances of which they had to complain.—[History of the *American Revolution*, by Paul Allen, Esq., vol. i. Baltimore: Printed by Thomas Murphy, 1819. p. 206.]

When the Bill was before Parliament, Gov. Johnstone declared that a principle of the Bill seemed to be "that the Popish religion is better than the Protestant."

The Mayor, Alderman and Commons of London in a petition to Parliament declared, "the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion without any provision for the free exercise of the Protestant religion would prove injurious and oppressive to His Majesty's subjects." After the Bill passed they petitioned the King to withhold his assent because "it established a religion known to be idolatrous and bloody, that His Majesty's family was called to the throne in consequence of the exclusion of the Roman Catholic branch of the Stuart Line, under the express condition that they should profess the Protestant religion and according to your coronation oath, you would maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel and the Protestant Reformed Religion."—[*Pa. Gaz.*, Aug. 24, 1774.]

"If you are about to raise a papist army to serve in the colonies, from this time all hope of peace in America will be destroyed," said Col. Barre.—[*Am. His. Record*, vol. 11, p. 208, note.]

"It excited as much indignation and more dread among the colonies than the severe measures against Massachusetts."—[Gordon's *History Rev.*, p. 484.]

Gen. Jos. Reed said [*Biography* vol. 1, p. 71]: "The Quebec Bill has proved very unpopular." In a letter to the Earl of Dartmouth September 25, 1774, he said: "What seemed a little time since to be a spark which might with prudence have been extinguished

is a flame which threatens ruin to both the parent and child. The spirit of the people gradually rose, when it might have been expected to decline, till the Quebec Bill set fuel to the fire. Then all those deliberate measures of petitioning previous to opposition were laid aside as inadequate to the apprehended mischief and danger, and now the idea of bringing down the Canadians and Savages upon the English Colonies is so inconsistent, not only with mercy but justice and humanity of the Mother Country, that I cannot allow myself to think that your Lordship would promote the Quebec Bill or give it your suffrage with such intention. People are generally ripe for any plan the Congress advise, should it be war itself."—[vol. ii, p. 78.]

The Quebec Act contributed more than, perhaps, any other measure to drive the American provinces into the present rebellion.—[*Canadian Freeholder*, vol. iii, p. 6.]

The committee of New York to the Mayor, Alderman and Council of London, under date of May 5, 1775, named among the "engines of depotism" "the establishment of Popery in Canada."—[Niles' *Acts Rev.* p. 439.]

In Narrative and Critical History of America, vol. vi, p. 103, is a copy of a print issued in Boston in 1775, entitled "*Virtual Representation.*" It represents America assailed by *One String Jack*, who demands "Deliver Your Property." An accomplice is *Te Deum* [a monk and a Frenchman]. Boston is represented in flames and Quebec in safety.

Alexander Hamilton's views on the Bill were: "Roman Catholics by the reason of implicit devotion to their priests and the superstitious reverence they bear those who countenance or favor their religion will be the voluntary instruments of ambition and ready to second oppressive designs against other parts of the Empire."—[*Ham. Papers*, p. 225.]

Thomas Paine in *Crisis*, No. 1, said: "An aim of the Parliament was to subvert the Protestant Religion. . . . Our Religion subverted to the Roman Catholic Religion not tolerated but established. . . . Every engine of oppression and arbitrary power at work to accomplish our ruin. His Majesty's minions and instruments of slaughter are now safe . . . in their subversion of the Protestant Religion because we are tame."

To the King he said: "Consider your coronation oath to protect the Protestant Religion."

"The Officers, Soldiers and Seamen Who may be employed to butcher their Relations, Friends and Fellow subjects in America," the *Crisis*, No. 4, reminded them that if "they could be prevailed on to butcher Americans they would be reduced to the miserable condition of being really an army of Scotch janizaries assisted by Roman Catholics."—[F. 960. Ridgway.]

In *Crisis*, No. 5, said: "Admit that Ministry by the power of Britain and the aid of our Roman Catholic neighbors . . . . the wealth, and we may add the men, particularly of the Roman Catholics, will then be in the power of your enemies."

ANTI-CATHOLIC "ADDRESS TO THE SOLDIERS" OF THE BRITISH ARMY ISSUED IN ENGLAND BY THE FRIENDS OF AMERICA AND ALSO SENT FROM WASHINGTON'S ARMY BESIEGING BOSTON TO THE BRITISH SOLDIERS.

While the British Army in Boston was besieged by Washington's forces Gen. Howe held Bunker Hill, the Americans held Prospect Hill and later Cobble Hill and Ploughed Hill. The latter was afterwards called Mt. Benedict. On it was erected the convent destroyed in 1834.

After these two Hills had been occupied by Washington's men it is related that the "lines of the opposing forces approximated so closely that the sentries exchanged news, banter and compliments and deserters found an easy transit. Among the humors of the situation the provincials availed themselves of the opportunity to send, on the wings of a favoring breeze, or by messengers with flags, large numbers of a satirical print containing a remonstrance to the British soldiers and a contrast of the bills of fare, the wages and the looked for rewards of the respective combatants on Bunker's and Prospect Hills. A complaint was made, by the British officers, of this attempt to promote desertions. In answer it was reported that the British had successfully decoyed two of the Provincial sentries."

A copy of this Address will be of interest as showing the anti-Catholic spirit of the early days of the Revolution. Supporters, in England, of the Americans prepared this Address to the Soldiers. The copies distributed to the British soldiers at Boston were printed at Cambridge.

Gentlemen,

You are about to embark for *America*, to compel your Fellow Subjects there to submit to POPERY and SLAVERY.

It is the Glory of the British Soldier, that he is the *Defender*, not the *Destroyer*, of the Civil and Religious Rights of the People. The *English* Soldierly are immortalized in History, for their Attachment to the Religion and Liberties of their Country.

When King JAMES the Second endeavored to introduce the Roman Catholic Religion and arbitrary Power into *Great Britain*, he had an Army encamped on *Hounslow-Heath*, to terrify the People. Seven Bishops were seized upon, and sent to the Tower. But they appealed to the Laws of their Country, and were set at Liberty. When this News reached the Camp, the Shouts of Joy were so great, that they re-echoed in the Royal Palace. This, however, did not quite convince the King, of the Aversion of the Soldiers to be the Instruments of Oppression against their Fellow Subjects. He therefore made another trial. He ordered the Guards to be drawn up, and the Word was given, that those who did not chuse to support the King's Measures, should ground their Arms. When, behold, to his utter confusion, and their eternal Honour—the whole body ground their Arms.

You, gentlemen, will soon have an Opportunity of shewing equal Virtue. You will be called upon to imbrue your Hands in the Blood of your Fellow Subjects in *America*, because they will not admit to be Slaves, and are alarmed at the Establishment of Popery and Arbitrary Power in One Half of their Country.

Whether you will draw those Swords which have defended them against their Enemies, to butcher them into a Resignation of their Rights, which they hold as the Sons of *Englishmen*, is in your Breasts. That you will not stain the Laurels you have gained from *France*, by dipping them in Civil Blood, is every good Man's Hope.

Arts will no doubt be used to persuade you, that it is your Duty to obey Orders; and that you are sent upon the just and righteous Errand of crushing Rebellion. But your own Hearts will tell you, that the People may be so ill treated, as to make Resistance necessary. You know, that Violence and Injury offered from one Man to another, has always some Pretence of Right or Reason to justify it. So it is between the People and their Rulers.

Therefore, whatever hard Names and heavy Accusation may be bestow upon your Fellow Subjects in *America*, be assured they have not deserved them; but are driven, by the most cruel Treatment, into Despair. In this Despair they are compelled to defend their Liberties, after having tried, in Vain, every peaceable Means of obtaining Redress of their manifold Grievances.

Before God and Man they are right.

Your Honor, then, Gentlemen, as soldiers, and your Humanity as Men, forbid you to be the Instruments of forcing Chains upon your injured and oppressed Fellow Subjects. Remember that your first obedience is due to God, and whoever bids you shed innocent Blood, bids you act contrary to his Commandments.

I am, GENTLEMAN,

your sincere Well-wisher,

AN OLD SOLDIER.

On the back of this hand-bill was printed.

PROSPECT HILL.	BUNKER'S HILL.
I. Seven Dollars a Month.	I. Three Pence a Day.
II. Fresh Provisions, and in Plenty.	II. Rotten Salt Pork.
III. Health.	III. The Scurvy.
IV. Freedom, Ease, Affluence and a good Farm.	IV. Slavery, Beggary and Want.

When Washington's army was besieging Boston, "a design was formed" to celebrate Pope Day, November 5, 1775. Washington issued an Order forbidding it, saying: "He cannot help expressing his surprise that there should be officers and men in this army so void of common sense as not to see the impropriety of such a step at this juncture, at a time when we are soliciting, and have really obtained, the friendship and alliance of the people of Canada whom we ought to consider as brethren engaged in the same cause—the defense of Liberty in America. At this juncture and under such circumstances, to be insulting their religion is so monstrous as not be suffered or excused."

That placed the condemnation of the "insult" to the religion of the Canadians solely upon the bad policy of doing it. But that the army intended the "insult" best shows the spirit in it.

Arnold was then bearing Washington's Address to the Canadians, urging them "to range themselves under the standard of general liberty," and Congress was then sending Commissioners to Canada, promising "never to molest them in the enjoyment of their religion." Hence it was not "good sense" to "insult the religion" of those they were asking for help. It was indeed "monstrous" that the bigotry could not be kept in subjection at such a "juncture and under such circumstances." So "the best policy" was to keep quiet and not let the Canadians know of the intended "insult."

This order of Washington's was in accord with his instructions to Arnold [September 14, 1775,] relative to expedition against Quebec. He directed "as the contempt of the religion of a country by ridiculing any of its ceremonies, or affronting its ministers or votaries, has ever been deeply resented, you are to be particularly careful to restrain every officer and soldier of such imprudence and folly and to punish every instance of it. On the other hand, as far as lies in your power, you are to protect and support the free exercises of the religion of the country and the undisturbed enjoyment of the rights of conscience in religious matters, with your utmost influence and authority.—[*Writings of Washington*, vol. ii, p. 123–4.]

ANTI-CATHOLIC DECLARATIONS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

In the committee of Continental Congress to state the rights of the Colonies violated, James Duane and John Jay, both of New York, were on the committee.

"Among the subjects of debate was the question whether the Quebec Bill should be reported as a grievance. Duane was opposed to including it in the report but Lee of Virginia on territorial considerations, the eastern members on pretence of Religious uses and others because it would be popular to insert in both England and America, united and made a large majority against Duane and he agreed to report it unanimously."—[*Doc. His. of New York*, vol. iv, p. 1071.] Lee declared, "of all the bad acts of Parliament the Quebec Act is the worst."

How did Congress regard the Act? The very Congress of which Washington was a member and which through it "contained states-

men of the highest order of wisdom" they "had not wholly purged themselves of Protestant bigotry," says Bancroft.

THE QUEBEC ACT in Congress. From *Journals of Congress*, vol. i, October 5, 1774. Committee on address to His Majesty to assure him that when the several (named) Acts are repealed among the number that for altering the Government and extending the Limits of Canada * * Commerce will be again restored.—[p. 23.]

Oct. 14th.—The people of the Colonies in order that their *Religion*, Laws and Liberties may not be subverted, do DECLARE &c.—[p. 28.]

Same day.—*Resolved* that the following Acts of Parliament are Infringements and violations of the Rights of the Colonists. * * "The Act passed for establishing the Roman Catholic Religion in the Province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English Laws and erecting a tyranny there to the great Danger (from so total a Dissimularity of Religion, Laws and Government) of the neighboring British Colonies, by the assistance of whose blood and treasure the said country was conquered from France."—[p. 31.]

Oct. 19th 1774.—Memorial to the Inhabitants of these Colonies—"the present unhappy situation of affairs is occasioned by * * * * also an Act for extending the province of Quebec, so as to border on Western Frontiers of these Colonies, establishing an arbitrary Government therein and discouraging the settlement of British subjects in that wide extended Country; thus by the influence of civil principles and ancient prejudices to dispose the inhabitants to act with Hostility against the free Protestant Colonies whenever a wicked Ministry shall chuse so to direct them.—[p. 33.]

So a Non-Importation Resolution was adopted to go into effect December 1.

We bind ourselves and our Constituent to adhere to this until the several Acts of Parliament * * * And that for extending the Limits of Quebec are repealed.—[p. 36.]

Signed by George Washington, "conspicuous for wisdom and unquestionably the greatest man in Congress."—[Lecky.]

Friday, Oct. 21, 1774.—Address to the people of Great Britain. "That we think the Legislature of Great Britain is not authorized by the Constitution to establish a Religion fraught with sanguinary and impious Tenets.—[p. 39.]

At the conclusion of the late war which was succeeded by an inglorious peace framed under the auspices of a Minister, of principles and of a family unfriendly to the Protestant cause and inimical to Liberty.—[p. 40.]

Now mark the Progression of the Ministerial plan for enslaving us:

An Act was passed extending the Dominion of Canada, "modelled and governed, as that by being disunited from us, detached from our interest, by civil as well as religious prejudices, that by their numbers daily swelling with Catholic emigrants from Europe, and by their devotion to Administration so friendly to their Religion, they might become formidable to us and on occasion be fit instruments in the hands of power, to reduce the ancient, free Protestant Colonies to the same state of slavery with themselves. This was evidently the object of the Act, and in this view being extremely dangerous to our Liberty and Quiet, we cannot forbear complaining of it, as hostile to British America.—[p. 43.]

Nor can we suppress our astonishment that a British Parliament should ever consent to establish in that country, a Religion that has deluged your Island in blood and dispersed Impiety, Bigotry, Persecution, Murder and Rebellion through every part of the World.—[p. 44.]

* * Admit that the Ministry by the power of Britain and the aid of Roman Catholic neighbors should be able to carry the point of Taxation * * what advantages or what laurels will you reap from such a conquest? * * May such a Minister with the same armies enslave you - Remember the taxes from America, the wealth and, we may add, the men, and particularly the Roman Catholics of this vast Continent will then be in the power of your enemies.—[p. 44.]

Lee, Livingston and Jay were the committee reporting that Address. It was written by Jay.—[*Am. An. Register*, 1827–8, p. 217.]

The same Committee reported *An Address to the Inhabitants of the Colonies* by which the Congress on September 5, 1774, declared:

"In the session of Parliament an Act was passed for changing the government of Quebec by which Act the Roman Catholic Religion, instead of being tolerated, as stipulated by the Treaty of Peace, is established. - - The authors of this arbitrary Arrangement flatter themselves that the inhabitants deprived of Liberty and artfully

provoked against those of another Religion will be proper instruments for assisting the oppression of such as differ from them in modes of Government and faith.

The people of England will soon have an opportunity of declaring their sentiments concerning our Cause - - we cannot be persuaded that they, the defenders of true religion and the asserters of the Rights of mankind, will take part against their affectionate Protestant Brethren in the colonies in favor of our open and their own secret enemies, whose intrigues for several years past have been wholly exercised in sapping the foundation of civil and Religious Liberty."

CONGRESS QUITE DIFFERENT WITH THE CANADIANS.

Congress adopted another tone, however, in Addressing the Canadians.

October 26, 1774, in Address to the Inhabitants of Quebec, Congress said: What is offered to you by the late Act of Parliament —Liberty of Conscience in your Religion? No. God gave it to you and the temporal powers with which you have been and are connected, finally stipulated for your enjoyment of it.—[p. 61.]

The Congress then went on to show the Canadians that the Act degraded them: "Have not the Canadians sense enough to attend to any other public affairs than gathering stones from one place and piling them up in another," referring to the power to assess taxes for road-making.

An insolent Ministry persuade themselves that you will engage to take up arms by becoming tools in their hands, to assist them in taking that freedom from *us* treacherously denied to *you*.—[p. 62.]

We are too well acquainted with Liberality of Sentiment distinguishing your nation, to imagine, that Difference of Religion will prejudice you against a hearty Amity with us. You know, that the transcendant Nature of Freedom elevates those who unite in her Cause, above all such low minded Infirmities. The *Swiss* Cantons furnish a memorable Proof of this Truth.—[p. 64.]

On May 26, 1775, Congress appointed Jay, Adams and Deane Committee on Letter to Inhabitants of Canada. They reported May 29, 1775: "We perceived the fate of the Protestant and Catholic Colonies to be strongly linked together, and, therefore, invite you to join with us in resolving to be Free, and in rejecting, with disdain, the Fetters of Slavery however artfully polished.—[p. 108.]

The enjoyment of your very Religion, on the present system, depends on a Legislature in which you have no Share, and over which you have no Controul, and your Priests are exposed to Expulsion, Banishment, and Ruin, whenever their Wealth and Possessions furnish sufficient Temptation.—[p. 109.] We are your friends not your enemies."

On July 6, 1775, Congress issued a Declaration setting forth Cause and Necessity of taking up arms. "We have received certain intelligence that Gen. Carleton, the Governor of Canada is instigating the people of that Province and the Indians to fall upon us."

That Congress in November, 1775, appointed Livingston, Paine, and Langdon Commissioners to secure the alliance of the Canadians. Their instructions were: "You may assure them that we shall hold their rights as dear as our own - - you may and are hereby empowered to declare that we hold sacred the rights of conscience and that we shall never molest them in the free enjoyment of their religion."—[*Journal*, i, p. 242.]

In the Petition to the King, Congress objected to the Act for Extending the Limits of Quebec and establishing an absolute Government and the Roman Catholic Religion throughout those vast regions, that border on the westerly and northerly Boundaries of the free Protestant, English Settlements.

In the Address to the King, October, 1774, Congress said: We enjoyed our rights under the auspices of your royal Ancestors whose family was seated on the throne to rescue and secure a pious and gallant nation from the Popery and Despotism of a superstitious and inexorable tyrant.—[*Journal*, p. 69.] They "implored" the King "for the honor of Almighty God whose pure Religion our enemies are undermining," etc.

Montgomery and Arnold were invading Canada when the effort to secure an alliance was made. Its possession was deemed necessary to thwart the designs of the Ministry and to prevent the Catholics from being made a military force for the oppression of the other Colonies. The Address of Washington published by Arnold said to the Canadians: The cause of America is the cause of every virtuous American citizen whatever may be his religion or his descent. —[Niles' *Acts Rev.*, p. 425.]

We know the disastrous termination of the expedition.

Congress the following March (1776) tried Catholic influence

upon the Canadians by sending Charles Carroll of Carrollton as Commissioner with Franklin and Chase and requesting *Mr.* John Carroll to accompany them. But the Canadians gave them no encouragement, and but scant courtesy was shown *Father* Carroll even by his fellow Jesuits: Bishop Briand of Quebec was loyal. He made his priests act so and excommunicated the laity who aided "the Bostonnais."

The Commissioners started in April and were back in June Then followed the Declaration of Independence. Even in this document the antipathy to the Canadians was manifested in the recital of the wrongs of the Colonies:

"For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province establishing there an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule in these colonies."

"Fit instruments." The very words of its anti-Catholic Address to the People of Great Britain put into the Declaration of Independence!

Charles Carroll of Carrollton in August, 1776, signed his name in support of that.

THE DEFENDERS OF AMERICAN LIBERTY EXPRESS DETESTATION OF CATHOLICITY.

A few Philadelphia instances of the anti-Catholic spirit will be of interest in view of the assertion that all Catholics were in favor of the Revolution. Could it be possible for Pennsylvania Catholics to take the side of those so bitterly assailing their Religion? What could only have been the effect of the action of Congress and the publication of the following extracts:

"LONDON: The Quebec Bill is of all others the most infamous and despotic; it makes George III. ten thousand times more arbitrary than Lewis XV. was when he ruled that Kingdom with a rod of iron."—[*Pa. Journal*, Aug. 17, 1774.]

The *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 31, 1774, says: "As the spirit of liberty in some of the colonies has given so much trouble to the Government, it was resolved to cherish the spirit of slavery in others. The French laws and Popery being most conducive to this end they were both adopted by our State Movers behind the scene as most suitable to the principles they were desirous of engendering."

TRIBUNUS, in London *Evening Post*, June 30, 1774, in a letter

to "THE KING: Defender of the Protestant Faith" said: "Must Protestants mourn while Papists rejoice?" We believe that "to keep a large body of Popish Canadians *in terrorem* against our Protestant Brethren in America the true ground and principle of the Bill." The Duke of Gloucester having voted against the Bill "deserves the thanks of the friends of Liberty and Protestantism."—[*Pa. Gaz.*, Sept. 16, 1774.]

The *Gazette*, September 21, gave an extract from a letter of James Munroe, Esq., dated Paris, June 25, relating the alarm of the Protestants in France at the action of the Archbishop and Clergy, made this comment: "We shall not make any observations on the above but leave it to the reader to draw the parallel between the situation of the Papists here and the Protestants in France."

A letter from London July 20, 1774, published in *Pa. Gaz.*, September 28, said: "You are now by this time in possession of the infamous Popery Bill for the colony of Quebec; if this don't rouse the most lethargic man amongst you I shall be amazed."

Extract from letter, Quebec September 20, 1774: "Gen. Carleton arrived here last Sunday afternoon and was received by all the French clergy at his landing when he had the honor to be kissed by the Bishop, and, afterwards, genteely introduced Popery by placing him at his right hand in the chaise. The French have said: "All their laws will be made by the General and the Bishop." If the General was a Roman Catholic he could not show them more respect than he does."—[*Gaz.*, Oct. 12.]

The following week the *Gazette* published an Address of the Clergy of Quebec to Carleton: "You will always find the clergy to be good and faithful subjects." Signed by John Oliver, Bishop of Quebec, H. F. Grave, Sup. of Seminary, Louis Aug. de Glapion, Sup. Gen. Jesuits, Emanuel Grespel, Sup. of Recollets.

An Address from the Laity expressed the gratitude for the Act and that "no subjects were more faithful and dutiful than the Canadians."

The English Inhabitants of Montreal met and resolved: "We shall have no security for our property nor religion." They were all "determined to struggle to obtain a repeal of the abominable Act."—[*Gazette*, Nov. 10, 1774.]

The Mayor of London in reply to a nobleman who desired his nominees for Parliament to be supported by the Mayor said, the

King "in establishing Popery in America would do just the same here when the plan in such readiness is ripe for execution," and so he would not vote for his choice as they had "voted Popery a better system of Religion than Protestantism as in the case of the Quebec Bill."—[*Gaz.*, Nov. 23.]

"The Quebec Bill in its establishment of Popery will serve to keep the other colonies in awe." Letter from London.—[*Pa. Journal*, Sept. 7, 1774.]

Lord Chatham opposed the Bill: "His long speech breathed nothing but love of country, the free principles of the Reformation and the Glorious Revolution. The Bill was at variance with all the safe guards and barriers against Popery and Popish influence and might shake the affection and confidence of the Protestant subjects."—[*Pa. Journal.*]

Scipio, in *Pennsylvania Journal*, October 5, 1774, "To the King:" "You have violated your coronation oath. From the late diabolical Act respecting the government of Quebec one would imagine you had imbibed the doctrine of Infallibilities, Purgatories, Bulls, Adorations, &c. The Act is repleted with the most direful mischiefs to your Protestant Subjects, openly countenancing Popish conspiracies and a manifest dereliction of the Protestant faith." "'Tis your subject's duty to endeavor to be always beforehand with the Pope, the Devil and all their emissaries."

Caius, in addressing Lord North: "You have made the Roman Catholic the established Religion in Canada though it is one of the most sanguinary of any amongst Christians and one of its cardinal tenets, Absolution, is totally inconsistent with all civil government." —[*Journal*, Oct. 5, 1774.]

A London letter August 23, 1774, expressed great admiration at the sagacity of the present ministry in planning the Bill. No political spirit of slavery is to be found in the colonies to contend with the spirit of patriotism. "Let us try," cries a Minister, "if none can be found under the cloak of Religion." "You will find it in the Church of Rome," cries the Pope. "You will find it in the Church of Rome," cries the Devil. "I have found it there," cries the French King. "Then I will seek it there," cries the English Ministry. "Popery shall be established in Canada. The Tories here shall carry the Bill, the Pope, Devil and French King shall make it effectual there for my purposes."

In Charleston, S. C., on October 14, 1774: "An Association of Protestant School Boys gave notice that they would, on November 1, call at each house to receive India tea, towards making a Bonfire on the memorable November 5, commonly called Gunpowder Plot Day, when the old custom is intended to be revived of exhibiting a piece of pageantry to show their abhorrence and detestations of Pope, Pretender and such of their adherents as would overthrow our good old English Constitution."—[*Pa. Journal*, Nov. 9, 1774.]

In Newport, R. I., on November 5, 1774. "Last Saturday there were two large Popes, &c., carried about this town in commemoration of the Gunpowder plot. On one of the stages besides the Devil and Pope were exhibited the effigies of L–d North and the old traitor T. Hutchinson, which afforded a great satisfaction to all the friends of liberty in this place. In the evening images were burnt and with them a pamphlet with these words written on the cover: "L–d Darthmouth's pamphlet in justification of Popery sent over the Colonies." This pamphlet was burnt to convince his lordship that his patronage will by no means sanctify such villainous productions, the tendency of which the good people of America can see as clearly as any of St. James cabal."—[*Pa. Journal*, Nov. 23, 1774.]

A SCOTCHMAN in *Public Ledger* [London] declared the King a perjurer, as he had violated his coronation oath. "One who pretends to have an over quantity of piety gives his slavish religion by establishment to a province which Lord Chatham says may be possessed by thirty million of souls."—[*Pa. Journal*, Nov. 23.]

The *Journal* the same day published an anecdote of Whitefield, the Methodist, as saying, "I never can believe that Christ would redeem America and have no martyrs there to seal with their blood the truth of His Religion."

The Right of Great Britain Asserted, London, 1776, p. 32, said: "The Act for Regulating the Government of Quebec furnishes the Congress with an ample field for declamation. To inveigh against Popery and Arbitrary power has been ever a favorite topic with men who wish to profit by the prejudices of the people.

"The Duke of Grafton, the Earl of Shelburne, Gen. Conway and several others of that "illustrous band," on whose virtues the Americans expatiate with rapture, approved the popish, arbitrary, tyrannical system of Government; yet all these now are true Ameri-

cans, strenuous Protestants, whigs of the ancient mould, determined asserters of freedom, avowed enemies of oppression, Popery and arbitrary principles." "A noble Whig, the Marquis of Rockingham, sent a Popish Bishop to Quebec." "The glaring inconsistency of Congress in addressing the people of Great Britain and of Canada we can scarcely ascribe to any better motive than political lunacy."—[p. 33.]

A Full Vindication of Measures of Congress from Calumnies of their Enemies, &c., N. Y., 1774, [by Alexander Hamilton,] said:

"The affair of Canada is still worse. The Romish faith is made the established religion of the land and his Majesty is placed at the head of it. The free exercise of Protestant faith depended upon the pleasure of the Governor and Council. The Parliament was not content with introducing arbitrary power and Popery into Canada with its former limits, but they have annexed to it vast tracts that surround all the Colonies. Does not your blood run cold, to think an English Parliament should pass an Act for the establishment of arbitrary power and Popery in such an extensive country. If they had had any regard to the freedom and happiness of mankind, they would never have done it. If they had been friends to the Protestant cause they never would have provided such a nursery for its great enemy. They would never have given such encouragement to Popery. The thought of their conduct in this particular shocks me. It must shock you, too, my friends. Beware of trusting yourselves to men who are capable of such an action! They may as well establish Popery in New York and the other colonies as they did in Canada. They had no more right to do it there than here.—Your lives, your property, your religion are all at stake."—[p. 26.]

A Tory pamphlet issued under the name of Bob. Jingle, Esq., Poet Laurate to the Congress, giving a versified report of the Association of the Grand Congress, September, 1774, said:

If Gallic Papists have a right
To worship their own way,
Then farewell to the Liberties,
Of poor America.—[p. 8.]

Referring to Non-Importation and Non-Exportation Resolution it said:

We have bound and ty'd you all
As it were with a Rope,
Which never can be broken by
The Devil or the Pope.

In versifying the Acts complained of "Bob" wrote:

Then last, and worst of all the Pack,
Is that vile Act about Quebec,
An Act to make French Bougers free,
To give them all that Liberty,
Civil and Sacred which *we* hold,
Was ever Parliament so bold?

A Poor Man's Advice to his Neighbors, New York, 1774, p. 5, said:

The Canagans, too, whom they address
And treat so very blunt;
Will cry, while as the*y* cross their breast,
Jesu, quel gros affront.
If to obey King George they please,
For what is all this fuss?
And love him more than *Lewy Sease**
Pray what harm's that to us.

The Petition and Memorial of Assembly of Jamaica, said:

"With like sorrow do we find the Popish Religion established by Law which by treaty was only to be tolerated."—[p. 7.]

In *The American Aroused* in *A Cure for the Spleen,* Representative Puff asks:

"Why there's the Quebec Bill; don't you think they intend to bring in Popery? For the Boston Minister said as how they did and that every man that wouldn't turn Papist was to lose his land."—[p. 22.]

Parson Sharp replied that the Minister and some others has much to answer for. He asked: "Has Popery spread or prevailed in any degree in the other colonies since the conquest of Canada—

* Louis XVI.

or has our religion suffered from the prevalency of that of the Roman Catholic in Maryland for many years past?"—[p. 22.]

An Address to the People of England, Ireland and Scotland on the Present Important Crisis of Affairs. By Cath. Macauley. London—Reprinted, New York, 1775, p. 10, said:

"Though a toleration of all religions is laudable - - yet the establishment of Popery is a very different thing to the toleration of it is, for very just and wise reasons altogether incompatible with the fundamental principles of our constitution."

THE CANADIAN FREEHOLDER: A Dialogue showing the sentiments of the Bulk of the Freeholders of Canada concerning the late Quebec Act—declared the attempt to arm the Roman Catholics of Ireland for America "would only increase the animosity and resentment of the Protestant colonies against Great Britain, make accommodation with them more difficult than before or rather utterly impracticable but would not much contribute to the reduction of them.—[p. 251.]

The Other Side of the Question or a Defence of the Liberties of North America, by a Citizen, [Philip Livingston,] New York, 1774.

"All the bigotry, all the superstition of a religion abounding in both, beyond any which the world has beheld, all, all is in his Royal hand to be used at his Royal will and pleasure."—[p. 24.]

To the Address to the Colonies a reply was made, entitled:

An Englishman's Answer to the Address to the Colonies, New York, 1775, pp. 22–3, said:

"I am astonished at what you tell us of the fruits of their [Canadian] religion - - we shall find by turning over the sad historic page, that it was the —— sect (I forget what they called them, I mean the sect which is still most numerous in New England, and not the sect they so much despise) that in the past century deluged our island in blood! That even shed the blood of the Sovereign and dispersed impiety, bigotry, superstition, hypocrisy, persecution, murder and rebellion through every part of the Empire."

THE SPIRIT OF THE REVOLUTION HOSTILE TO THE CHURCH.

Intelligence Extraordinary. We hear that in consequence of the passing of the late Acts many promotions will take place among which the following are said to be already determined on:

Lord North, Commissioner of Supplies to the College of Jesuits.

Jeremiah Dyson, Esq., Clerk of the Holy Inquisition.
Thomas Bradshaw, Esq., Secretary to the See of Rome.
Charles Jenkins, Esq., Runner to ditto.
Charles Fox, Arch Treasurer of the Holy *Romish* Empire.
Lord Chatham, Superior of the Holy House of Loretto.
Archbishop of Canterbury, Sovereign Pontiff.

Mr. Horne, Crucifix maker to his Most Catholic Majesty.—[London News in *Pa. Gaz.*, 1774.]

Rev. Wm. Gordon, pastor of the Third Church, Roxbury, Mass., in a discourse preached December 15, 1774, referred to the Quebec Act as "that formal security of their religious liberty which was in no ways wanting, but is generally, I fear justly, taught with the base, diabolical design of procuring their assistance, if required, in quelling the spirit of freedom among the natural and loyal subjects of Great Britain."

The New York Associators or Sons of Liberty in addressing Lieutenant Governor Colden named as grievance "the extention of the boundaries of Quebec, the establishment of Popery and the arbitrary form of government in that province."—[N. Y. *Col. Doc.*, vol. i, p. 584.]

The active spirits of The Sons of Liberty were: John Moranie Scott, William Livingston and William Smith, whom Governor Colden called "The Damned Triumvirate of Presbyterian Lawyers."

March 6, 1775, the friends of freedom assembled at the liberty pole, New York. They carried a large union flag with a blue field. On one side "George III. Rex and the Liberties of America: No Popery." On the other the "Union of Colonies, and the Measures of the Congress."—[*Moore's Diary Rev.*, vol. i, p. 35.]

On March 13, 1775, a broadside signed "PHILELENTHEROS" was issued in New York, headed:

> NO PLACEMEN, PENSIONERS, MINISTERIAL HIRELINGS, POPERY NOR ARBITRARY POWER! TO THE FREEMEN AND FREEHOLDERS OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK.

In "A Friendly Address to all Reasonable Americans," issued in New York in 1775, it is said: "It is true the Papists of Canada might have had a toleration, less generous than has been granted them without the Parliament allowing to the clergy their tithes or to their parishes their churches."—[p. 21.]

"The Catholic Church was left almost intact in Canada, nay its clergy continued under British rule to gather tithes and receive certain traditional honors.

This was too much for the older colonies to brook. They had not lavished blood and treasure for this. The very bigotry nurtured by English rule now turned against it. And what wonder, then, that New York expressed this long-cherished feeling the hatred of Catholics so long encouraged by Government. What wonder that the flag of American freedom that first floated to the breeze in New York, bore the motto, "No Popery." How little can we fathom the designs of the Almighty. Who looking on that flag could see in it a germ of a freedom of the Church which she then nowhere out of patrimony of St. Peter really possessed. Yet it was there. Down to the French Alliance, this anti-Catholic feeling nerved the Whigs and discouraged the Friend of British rule. Then it changed and the Tory papers caught every occasion to show how zealously Protestant the British was."—[From the *Catholic World* in the *Historical Magazine*, Sept. and Oct., 1869, p. 232.]

So prevalent was the spirit of hostility to "Popery" as the ally of the British Ministry that Rev. Wm. Mansfield, Episcopal Minister of Queen's County, New York, on December 29, 1775, wrote to London that he was called a "Tory, a Papist and an enemy of my country" by the adherents of the "present unnatural rebellion."—[*Con. Doc.*, P. E. Church, p. 199.]

"They may oblige us to support Popish priests on pain of death. They have already given us a specimen of the good effects of their assumed power in establishing Popery in nearly one-half of North America. Is this not the loudest call to arms?" shows the character of the sermon preached on Fast Day, 1775, by Rev. David Jones, at Tredyffryn, in Chester County, Pa.

Said Rev. John Carmichael at Lancaster June 4, 1775, to Capt. Ross' Co. of Militia in the Presbyterian church: "When England went to war with France and Spain in the time of the last reign they invoked the aid of the God of heaven by fasting and prayer and Government discovered no leaning to Popery."

He continued: "While His Majesty, George the Third will observe his own coronation oath and the principles of the Revolution [of 1688] for the support of which, against all Jacobite factions and the Tory plots of Popery, his ancestors of the illustrious house of Brunswick

were placed on the throne of Great Britain, do you observe your allegiance."—[p. 30.]

"May God grant that out of these tumults, disturbances and commotions a great and mighty empire may rise upon this Western world for King Jesus as well as a Protestant King, built on the solid principles of liberty and true religion."—[*Ibid.*]

"The passing of the Quebec Act (1774) afforded a pretext to the discontented in Montreal to lend encouragement to the Congress of the American Colonies, after it had met and agreed on certain resolutions. Montreal was evidently the focus of discontent owing to the large number of Americans who had settled there and the constant intercourse they maintained with New England. A deputation proceeded to Quebec, and in November, 1774, succeeded in introducing a number of the English speaking people to sign a petition to the King, in which the Act was described as one disgraceful to them as British subjects and as ruinous to their interests." —[*Report on Canadian Archives*, 1888.]

Lord Camden presented a petition (May 17, 1775,) to the House of Peers for the repeal of the Act made in the last session of Parliament, entitled "An Act for making more effectual Provision for the Government of the Province of Quebec in North America" which was rejected.—[*Gentlemen's Mag.*, 1775, p. 252.]

The Rev. Wm. Smith of Philadelphia, in his address June 25, 1775, to 3d Battalion said: "Since the Revolution (of 1688) have not our avowed principles been against the raising of the Church above the State, jealousy of the national rights, resolute for the Protestant succession and favorable to the reformed religion and to maintain the faith of Toleration." * * Think that upon you may depend whether this great country in ages hence, shall be filled and adorned by a virtuous and enlightened people enjoying Liberty with all its blessings together with the Religion of Jesus as it flows uncorruptedly from His Holy oracles."

In his sermon, February 19, 1776, in Memory of Gen. Montgomery he said:

"When Montgomery in campaign of 1775 went to Canada little did those generous Americans think they were assisting to subdue a country which would one day be held up over us as a greater scourge in the hand of friends than ever it was in the hands of enemies."

To the charge of the enemies of American peace that Mont-

gomery's expedition to Canada in 1775 was one of "hostility and offense," he replied, "but when authentic proofs were obtained that a people preferring a religion and subject to laws different from our own together with numerous tribes of savages, was instigated and preparing to deluge our frontiers in blood, let God and the world judge whether it was an act of offense, or rather whether it was not mercy to them, to ourselves, to the whole British Empire to use the means in our power for frustrating the barbarous attempt."

"The endeavor to stir up Popish Canadians and savage Indians against the Colonies has been productive of the taking of Ticonderoga."—[Rev. John J. Zubly at opening of Provincial Congress, September, 1775.]

"Everything dear to us as Protestant and Freemen" was at issue declared.—[Rev. Thos. Coombe, Christ Church, Philadelphia, July 20, 1775, p. 16.]

THE FRIENDS OF AMERICA IN ENGLAND ALSO ANTI-CATHOLIC.

"The Address of People of Great Britain to the Inhabitants of America" said:

"We have seen the three Addresses of your Congress, the first of which is directed to us, the next to you, and the last to His Majesty, and we wish we could add that we had not seen their Address to the French Inhabitants of Quebec; because it flatters them, provided they adopt the projects of the Congress, with the protection of a religion which the Congress in their Address to us, say, is fraught with "Impiety, Bigotry, Persecution, Murder and Rebellion," and therefore complain of Parliament for protecting, and because it proposes a social compact with a people, whose genius and government the Congress in their Addresses to you and us, represent as incompatible with freedom. * * We address you - - not as Communities which would league yourselves with Frenchmen against us."

The establishment of Popery and arbitrary power by a ministerial parliament, in Canada, the raising of Roman Catholic armies to butcher the Protestants into submission, demonstrate the principles of those who advise the present measures against America."—[*Almon's Remembrancer*, part i, p. 204.]

"In your Majesty's justice we confide for a fair construction of an apprehension we have conceived, that your Majesty hath

been advised to take foreign troops into British pay and to raise and discipline Papists both in Ireland and Canada for the purpose of enforcing submission to laws which your Majesty's Protestant subjects in America conceive to be destructive of their liberties." —[*Almon's Remembrancer*, part i, p. 247.]

Quebec Act. From "*A Proposal for a Reconciliation with the Revolted Provinces of North America without exempting them from the authority of the British Parliament*," as given in a book, entitled *Additional Papers Concerning the Province of Quebec.*

"To repeal the Quebec Act but confirming in general terms the rest of the laws in England except the penal laws against the exercise of the Popish religion - - but the laws of England which disqualify Papists from holding places of trust or profit ought still to be continued in the provinces, though the penal laws should be abolished; the former laws being no laws of Persecution but of self defense. Yet the King might, if he pleased extend his bounty to those people who signed the French petition and to such other persons of that Roman Catholic religion as he thought fit by granting them pensions." —[*Almon's Remembrancer*, part ii, 1776, p. 188-9.]

The proposer recommended "that the Province of Quebec be allowed a "legislative Council consisting of Protestants only" but in a general Assembly of the people he would allow "Protestants and Papists indiscriminately." To this latter "but few objections can now be made." The English settlers were willing to have such an Assembly and the King and Parliament have, by passing the Quebec Act and permitting the Roman Catholics to hold all sort of offices, seats in the legislative Council, judicial offices and even military commissions declared that they consider the old opinion that Roman Catholics were not fit persons to be invested with authority under the British Government as ill grounded with respect to the Province of Quebec."—[*Almon's Remembrancer*, part ii, 1776, p. 190.]

"Every Canadian would have been at full liberty to be as much or as little of a Roman Catholic as he pleased. This liberty would have operated in favor of Protestant religion as it is certain that terror and "ignorance are the only means by which the Popish Religion is supported in any country."

From *The Proclamation Versified.* By John Trumbull. A parody on proclamation of Gen. Gage, the British commander at Boston.

> Did not your clergy, all as one,
> Vile Protestants each mother's son,
> Tho' miracles have left in lurch
> All men but our true Catholic church,
> Persuade you Heaven would help you out.

The *Historical Magazine*, Jan., 1868, p. 9, says of the above lines: This appeal to the *odium theologicum* is dexterously introduced.

If any sentiment *could* unite the people of New England more than did the love of Liberty, it must be the hatred of Popery.

The suspicion that Gage and his employers favored the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion—however unfounded—was very generally entertained in Massachusetts and Connecticut. Dr. Langdon gave it expression in Election sermon before the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts two weeks [May 31] before Gen. Gage's Proclamation of June 12, 1775, when he said:

"When we consider the late Canada Bill which implied not merely a toleration of the Roman Catholic religion (which would be just and liberal,) but a firm establishment of it through that extensive province - - - - have we not great reasons to suspect that all the late measures respecting the Colonies have originated from Popish schemes of men who would gladly restore the race of Stuart, and who look on Popery as a religion most favorable to arbitrary power?"

In *McFingal*, an epic poem, by John Trumbull, Aide to Washington, it is said England

> "Struck bargains with the Romish Churches
> Infallibility to purchase;
> Set wide for Popery the door,
> Made friends with Babel's scarlet whore."

Rev. Boucher delivered a sermon in Queen Anne's parish, Prince George County, Md., in 1774, and an advertisement in the edition of his sermons, issued in England, to which he had fled, in 1796, said: "The persons in America who were most opposed to Great Britain had also in general distinguished themselves by being particularly hostile to the Catholics but then though Dissenters and

Republicans were their enemies those friendly to Government could hardly be said to be their friends." He continues:

All that the Catholics of Maryland seem to have gained by their compliance is that they were not driven into exile nor their property confiscated. I have not heard that they had in general been trusted, like others by their new allies much less that they have been distinguished by any favors. Their leader (C. C.) has been a member of Congress and was once employed on an embassy; a relation of his Cousin is now the Popish Bishop in the State. This Bishop is spoken of as a man of wealth, ability and some things which I have seen of his writing proves that he is a respectable man. Under the prevailing latitudinarian principles of the Government of Maryland they, like other religions are no longer molested on account of their religion nor are they stigmatized, by any legal disqualification—their emancipation (the term which they were soon taught to apply to their being taken out of the prospect of Government Great Britain) has been rather nominal than real."—[244.]

John Adams, writing to James Warren from Braintree, March 15, 1775, said: "We have a few Jacobites and Roman Catholics in this town but they dare not show themselves."—[*Life and Works of John Adams*, vol. ix, p. 355.]

John Adams, who declared "Catholic Christianity" was "Cabalistic Christianity"—[*Works*, vol. x, p. 100], asked Thomas Jefferson, "Can a free Government possibly exist with the Roman Catholic Religion."—[*Works*, vol. x, p. 398.]

Judge Drayton, of Charleston, S. C., in a charge to the Grand Jury, April 23, 1776, mentioned as "one of the weighty oppressions suffered by the Colonies the establishing in Quebec the Roman Catholic Religion and an arbitrary government instead of the Protestant religion and a free government."

He added that "thus America saw it demonstrated that no faith ought to be put in a royal proclamation, for in the year 1763 by such a proclamation, people were invited to settle in Canada, and were assured of a legislative representation and the benefits of the common law of England and a free government. It is a misfortune to the public that this is not the only instance of the inefficiency of a royal proclamation."—[*Niles' Act, Revolution*, pp. 73-4.]

The Quebec Act was the first step in the emancipation of the Catholics (of Ireland and England). With no higher object in view

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than to strengthen the authority of the King in America, the Quebec Act began that series of concessions which did not cease until the British Parliament itself and the high offices of administration have become accessible to Papists."—[*Bancroft*, iii, p. 156.]

IRELAND IN THE REVOLUTION.

That the Religious spirit was invoked in Ireland against the Americans there is abundant evidence. The first conciliatory Act of England towards the Irish Catholics was the Act of 1774, "*To Enable His Majesty's Subjects of whatever persuasion to testify their allegiance to him*," which Act the Government "not without some difficulty" passed through the Irish Parliament. But Lord North was anxious to "conciliate the Irish Catholics in order to unite the subjects of the King in Great Britain and Ireland" and so "sent positive orders that some Act should be passed of conciliatory tendency towards the Catholics."—[*Amherst's Catholic Emancipation*, p. 53.]

On April 28, 1775, a Committee of the Aldermen and Commons of Dublin drafted an Address to George III. in which they said that Ireland was "defenceless against our natural and hereditary enemy and they had the mortification to find the military force drained from this Kingdom to enter into an unnatural conflict with Protestant subjects of the same empire."—[*Almon's Remembrancer*, vol. i, p. 162.]

Efforts were made to enlist the Catholics of Ireland:

I promise to give a bounty of half a guinea to every able bodied man who shall enlist with Major Boyle Roche (my relation) for the service of His Majesty: and I further declare that I will show every act of favor in my power to the friends of such volunteers as show a proper spirit on this occasion. KENMARE.

Killarney, August 11, 1775.

A PROTESTANT in sending above advertisement to *Remembrancer* says:

Lord Kenmare is a powerful Roman Catholic Peer. King James II. endeavored to raise R. C. Army in England and did actually procure one in Ireland. Our present ministers are also endeavoring to raise an army of French and Irish Catholics. No one can doubt that their intentions against the civil and religious liberties of the people are the same with those of King James.

There is much more available relating to Ireland and the American Revolution.

Arthur Lee, in a letter to Washington, said:

The resources of our enemy are almost annihilated in Germany and their last resort is to the Roman Catholics of Ireland and they have already experienced their unwillingness to go, every man of a regiment raised there last year having obliged to ship him off tied and bound. And most certainly the Irish Catholics will desert more than any other troops whatsoever."

This is borne out by one of many bits of evidence, like that of Major General James Pattison, when in New York as Commandant of the Royal Artillery in America; he, on September 5, 1779, wrote Major General Cleavland: "I must desire that no Partys may be sent to Ireland to recruit for my Battalion. I have more already that I could wish from that country, and I am informed by Captain Chapman that 49 of the men enlisted there have deserted."—[Col. N. Y. His. Soc., 1875, p. 105.]

REV. DANIEL BARBER'S RELATION OF THE ANTI-CATHOLIC SPIRIT OF THE AMERICANS.

Here is a good testimony—that of Rev. Daniel Barber, who became a Catholic and whose conversion and that of his family was an event of historical importance and is doubtless familiar to our readers.

Rev. Daniel Barber was formerly Protestant Minister in Claremont, N. H. He wrote "*The History of My Own Times*—WASHINGTON, 1827, from which we obtain the following:

Born Simsbury Conn. Oct. 2d 1756 He was a son of Daniel Barber, who was son of Sergt. Thomas Barber, who was the grandson of Lieut. Thomas Barber, who was one of the original proprietors of Simsburg.

He (Rev. Daniel Barber) enlisted under Capt. Elihu Humphrey in 1775.

He says, in page 17: "We were all ready to swear that King George by granting the Quebec Bill (that is the privilege to the Roman Catholics of worshipping God according to their own conscience) had thereby became a traitor, had broke his coronation oath, was secretly a Papist, and whose design was to oblige this

country to submit itself to the unconstitutional power of the English Monarch, and, under him, and by his authority, be given up and destroyed, soul and body by that frightful image with 7 heads and 10 horns. The real fears of Popery in New England, had its influence; it stimulated many timorous people to send their sons to join the military ranks in the field and jeopardy their lives in the bloody contest. The common word then was "No King, No Popery." Now what must appear very singular is that the two parties, naturally so opposed to each other, should become even at the outset, united in opposing the efforts of the Mother country. And now we find the New England people and the Catholics of the Southern States fighting side by side though stimulated by extremely different motives; the one acting through fear, lest the King of England should succeed in establishing among us, the Catholic Religion; the other equally fearful lest his bitterness against the Catholic faith should increase until they were either destroyed or driven to the mountains and waste places of the wilderness."

In the final event the fears of each were most effectually put to rest, and their wishes crowned with success; so that, henceforth, never more will New England be terrified lest the King of England should establish a Popery among them nor the Catholics be afraid that the same tyrannical power should destroy them for their faith."

He became a Catholic November, 1818.

New England Clergy. The Ministers of the Gospel instead of preaching to their flocks meekness, sobriety, attention to their different employments and a steady obedience to the laws of Britain, belch from the pulpit, liberty, independence and a steady perseverance in endeavoring to shake off their allegiance to the Mother country. The independent Ministers have ever been, since the first settling of this colony, the instigator, and abetters of every persecution and conspiracy.—[*Moore's Diary Rev.*, vol. i, p. 44.]

THE ENEMIES OF AMERICAN LIBERTY BECAME POPERY HATERS.

After the French Alliance came a reversal of position. The British then became the chargers of "Popery" as the crime of the Americans who became mutes, if not more tolerant in their views.

Rev. Jacob Duche, was the Episcopalian Minister who delivered the First prayer in the Continental Congress. In 1776 he went over

to the British and wrote Washington advising him to abandon the Patriot cause. Under the signature of PAPINIAN he had, from 1772, written Letters which have been published. In 1779 he wrote relating to the celebration of July 4, 1779, at St. Mary's, Philadelphia. This celebration was intended by Gerard, the French Minister, to win Philadelphia Catholics to the American cause, as the anti-Catholic utterances we are presenting must have prevented them from giving aid to the cause of Revolt.—[See *Durand's New Material* for *His. Am. Rev.*] Philadelphia was then a "mass of cowardice and toryism," according to John Adams.—[*Works*, ii, p. 438.] Duche wrote:

"The Congress and Rebel Legislature of Pennsylvania have lately given the most public and unequivocal proof of their countenance and good will to Popery. They have set an example which they unquestionably wish others to follow."

Papinian continued: "In very many districts of the continent —and in some of New England—where Popery was formerly detested and scarcely a Papist was to be seen, numbers of Popish books are now dispersed and read with avidity."

He cited a case of a Protestant Dissenter of New England who "harangued a large assembly of people on some disputed points between Protestants and Papists and declared he "saw nothing amiss or erroneous in them." Also of another who wished "A priest settled in every county throughout America."

"Instead of laws to restrain, the door is thrown open to receive Popery. Its priests are favored and countenanced, they meet with every encouragement whilst Protestant Clergymen who will not perjure themselves to support the Congress are banished, imprisoned or otherwise cruelly persecuted."

Luzerne succeed Gerard. He on September, 1779, reports to Vergennes from Boston that the people are attached to the Alliance, that ministers in "pulpit pray for a Catholic king once odious to them."—[*Durand's New Material, His. Rev.* p. 216.]

In 1779 Congress published extracts from its Addresses. "Having the fear of M. Gerard [the French Minister] before them they cautiously avoided that passage of their Address to the People of Great Britain, dated Sept. 5th, 1774 where they tell their loving friends and fellow subjects: "Nor can we suppress our astonishment that a British Parliament should ever consent to establish in that

country, a Religion that has deluged your Island in blood and dispersed Impiety, Bigotry, Persecution, Murder and Rebellion through every part of the World.—[*Letters of Papinian*, 1779.]

At this time John Jay, a "Popery" hater, was President of Congress. He was keen witted enough to see the "impropriety" of republishing his "insult" at "that juncture and under such circumstances."

Father Arthur O'Leary issued an Address to Catholics of Ireland during the American Revolution to remain faithful to the British Government.—[*Butler's Historical Memoirs of English Catholics*, vol. iv, p. 90.]

"When the French joined the Americans it was not from love for the Presbyterian religion." So said Rev. Father Arthur O'Leary in An Address to the Common people of the Roman Catholic Religion concerning the apprehended French Invasion.—[p. 95, issued at Cork, Aug. 14, 1779.]

"A French officer belonging to one of the first detachment of the regular army sent over by the French Government," on his return to Paris in 1779 reported: "The state of things in America is alarming but not hopeless. - - - - - The Royalist party is numerous, but passive, despised and only daring to work underground; it tries to excite distrust among the people on account of their alliance with Papists, covertly circulating the idea that it is the insidious interposition of France which prevents peace being made, and that being the natural enemy of the colonies, she tries to prolong this destructive war."

The people in general, however, long for peace. Catholics, Anglicans, Lutherans, and Quakers are anxious for it on account of their dread of Presbyterian intolerance and persecution.—[*Durand's New Material* for the *History of American Revolution*, pp. 25-30.]

Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, New York, March 17, 1779, thought it "not improper to suggest a few particulars to the Americans respecting the probable consequence of their alliance and connection with France." If "America by the power of France and French troops should oblige Britain to relinquish her just claim to an equitable union of force and interest what advantage would the colonies reap from the event? Religion, with tattered garments and mournful eye, would lament the success which exposed her to the shackels of Popish superstition. - - Let us imagine ourselves reading a few passages of an American newspaper containing an account of some

other particulars which we may reasonably judge to be of the following nature, etc.—[*Moore's Diary*, vol. ii, p. 148.]

November 11, 1789.—The Catholic religion is not only outwardly professed, but has made the utmost progress among all ranks of people here, owing in a great measure, to the unwearied labors of the Dominican and Franciscan friars, who omit no opportunity of scattering the seeds of religion and converting the wives and daughters of heretics. We hear that the building formerly called the Old South Meeting is fitting up for a cathedral, and that several old meeting houses are soon to be repaired for convents.—[*Diary, Revolution*, p. 148.]

November 12, 1789.—This day being Sunday, the famous Samuel Adams read his recantation of Heresy, after which he was present at Mass and we hear he will soon receive priest's orders to qualify him for a member of the American Sorbonne.

Philadelphia, November 16.—On Tuesday last arrived here the *St. Esprit* from Bordeaux, with a most valuable cargo of rosaries, Mass books and indulgences which have been long expected.

On Monday next Te Deum will be celebrated in the Grand Cathedral, on account of a great victory obtained over the Dutch in Flanders. It is hoped that the Protestant heresy will be soon extirpated in all parts of Europe. A grand Auto de Fé is to be performed on Wednesday next. Father Le Cruel, President of the inquisition in this City, out of a tender regard for the salvation of mankind, has thought proper that an example should be made of an old fellow of the age of ninety convicted of Quakerism and of reading the Bible, a copy of which in the English Language was found in his possession.

November 23.—His Majesty has directed his viceroy to send 500 sons of the principal inhabitants of America, to be educated in France, where the utmost care will be taken to imbue them with a just regard for the Catholic faith and a due sense of subordination to Government.—[*Moore's Diary Rev.*, vol. ii, p. 145–140.]

Rivington's Gazette, June 30, 1779, in a poem "The American Vicar of Bray."

The French Alliance now came forth.
The Papists flocked in shoals, Sir,
Frizeur Marquises, Valets of birth,
And priests to save our souls, Sir,

Our "good ally" with tow'ring wing,
Embraced the flattering hope, Sir,
That we should own him for our King,
And then invite the Pope, Sir.
—[*Moore's Diary Rev.*, ii, p. 175.]

THE FRENCH ALLIANCE

Of the French Alliance the (Tory) Pa. *Ledger*, May 13, 1778, said:

Is it possible we can *now* wish for a final separation from Britain, the ancient and chief support of the Protestant religion in the world, for the sake of upholding a little longer, at the expense of our own lives and fortunes, the arbitrary power of that Congress, who without even asking our consent, have *disposed* of us, have mortgaged us like vassals and slaves, by refusing to treat with Britain and by entering into a treaty with that ambitious and treacherous power whose religious and political maxims have so often disturbed the peace and invaded the rights of mankind? The Congress have wonderfully altered their tone of late. The time was when the bare toleration of the Roman Catholic religion in Canada, though stipulated for by the articles of capitulation, was treated as a wicked attempt to establish "a sanguinary faith, which had for ages filled the world with blood and slaughter." But now the Congress are willing to make us the instruments of weakening the best friends, and of strengthening the most powerful and ambitious enemies of the Reformation to such a degree as must do more than all the world besides could do, towards the universal re-establishment of Popery through all Christendom - - - judge then what we have to hope or expect from such an alliance! We not only ran a manifest risk of becoming slaves ourselves, under the treacherous title of independency but we are doing everything in our power to overturn the Protestant religion, and extinguish every spark, both of civil and religious liberty in the world!—[*Moore's Diary Rev.*, ii, p. 48.]

"The Act seems to have raised the discontents in America to their highest pitch and to have driven even the former friends of Great Britain (whom the popular parties had distinguished by the name of Tories on account of their supposed want of zest for the liberties of the country) into the measures of the opposite party." —[*Canadian Freeholder.* This pamphlet has much about the Act.]

John Adams in writing to the President of Congress from

Braintree, August 4, 1779, as to the state of affairs in Europe so far as they related to the interest of the United States said:

"The court of Rome, attached to ancient customs, would be one of the last to acknowledge our independence, if we were to solicit it. But Congress will probable never send a Minister to His Holiness, who can do them no service, upon condition of receiving a Catholic legate or Nuncio in return or in other words an ecclesiastical tyrant, which, it is to be hoped the United States will be too wise ever to admit into their territories.—[*Works*, vol. vii, p. 110.]

It is a wonderful story that of the American Revolution. To none ought it be more thoroughly known in all its fulness and detail than to Catholics. Well declared was it by the last Council at Baltimore that the Providence of God led to the formation of this Republic. Our Prelates spoke with the voice of Infallible Truth, almost, when they enunciated these words: "We believe that our country's heroes were the instruments of the God of Nations in establishing this home of freedom."

How truly striking is this when we remember the anti-Catholic spirit of the first years of the Revolt against oppression and think of the freedom of action that came to the Church.

Further information concerning the subject may be found in *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. vi, p. 102, where many references are given; *Dawson's His. Mag.*, January, 1868, p. 9; *Columbian Mag.*, October, 1789; *Writings of Washington*, iii, p. 89; *American Cath. Quar. Rev.*, July and October, 1885; *Appeal to the Public on the Quebec Act*, London, 1774, No. 1144, O. Ridgway Library, Philadelphia; *Canadian Freeholder*, No. 1295, O. Ridgway Library; *American Independence the Interest and Glory of Great Britain*, No. 1144, O. Ridgway Library; *Life of Esther de Berth Reed*, Philadelphia, 1853; *Elliott's Debates in State Convention on the Adoption of U. S. Constitution; Doc. Rel. to His. N. Y.*, vol. viii, p. 584; *Report on Canada Archives*, 1885, *Haldiman Collection*, p. 362; *U. S. Cath. His. Mag.*, January and April, 1888; *Act Altering the Government of Quebec*, by A Sincere Friend to America, New York, 1775; Instructions of Washington to Arnold in *Washington's Writings*, iii, p. 89; *Canada and Continental Congress*, by Wm. Duane.

FATHER LOTBINIERE, THE CHAPLAIN OF THE "REBEL" CANADIANS WHO JOINED THE AMERICAN ARMY DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR—HIS TRIALS, DISTRESSES AND PITEOUS APPEALS TO CONGRESS FOR HIS PAY.

Before the capture of Ticonderoga, before the battle of Bunker Hill, even before the battle of Lexington, Canada had been invited to send delegates to the Provincial Congress.

The reply of some of the principal merchants of Montreal shows that there was at this time considerable popular sympathy in that province with the cause of liberty; albeit it was a sympathy which prudently hesitated to declare itself in public. Under date of April 28, 1775, they wrote:

. . . "*the bulk of the People*, both English and Canadians, are of *quite contrary sentiments* and wish well to your cause, but dare not stir a finger to help you; being of no more estimation in the political machine than the sailors are in shaping the course or working the ships in which they sail. They may mutter and swear, but must obey," etc.

The Quebec Act had been hardly better received in Canada than the Stamp Act in the Southern Colonies. That very spring, in the first of May, people had insulted His Majesty by daubing his bust in the public square of Montreal with black paint and hanging strings of rotten potatoes round it. (Codman's *Arnold's Exped. to Quebec.*)

From this same work (p. 297) we learn that on May 1, 1776, Gen. John Thomas arrived before Quebec to relieve Wooster. He found the Continental army shrunken to about nineteen hundred, with only one hundred and fifty pounds of powder and six days' rations, no entrenching tools and no competent engineers. The Canadians would no longer accept the paper money of Congress; their priests refused to confess those who joined the rebel ranks, and although the Yankees tried to checkmate them by hiring one Lotbiniere, a priest, for fifteen hundred livres per annum, and the promise to make him a bishop as soon as Quebec was taken, to confess all who applied to him, the refusal of priestly sanction and comfort continued a powerful factor in the subject.

Owing to the more apparent prospect of British success, the Canadians had experienced plainly a change of heart, while the indifferent success of their plans and hopes bred in the Americans a bitterness which made them less careful to preserve their attitude of friendship and conciliation. Spring was rapidly ripening the seeds of discontent and impatience which the occupation of the country by the Americans had gradually sown during the winter.

"The Canadians who joined the American cause were excommunicated by the Bishop of Quebec and those who returned to Canada were denied the sacraments even on their death bed, unless they openly recognized that they had committed sin by joining the Americans. Christian burial was in consequence denied them and they were buried by the road side." *

Thus we read that

"The inhabitants who had sympathized with the cause of the Americans were compelled by the priests to do penance in public." †

Again, that

"Bishop Briand worked hard and did almost as much as General Carleton for the British cause." ‡

Moreover, that on

"Sunday, June 16, 1776 (Montreal). The Canadians join our

* De Gaspe's *Les Anciens Canadiens*, p. 183-4, quoted by Shea, in *Life of Archbishop Carroll*, p. 145. Many other authorities might be cited to the same effect.

† Jones' *Conquest of Canada*, p. 156.

‡ Justin H. Smith in *American Historical Review*, January, 1902, p. 400.

people and fight with spirit becoming men inspired with a sense of freedom."*

Under date of June 19, relating to the desertion of a corporal and three privates of those encamped on Point Levy, we read that they

"were seen up the river." . . . "The Canadians" (the *Journal* goes on to say) "are not satisfied with their being there and will not furnish them with anything they can help; being much in favor of the Colonies."†

Much additional evidence of the early sympathy of the people of Canada with the revolting Americans could be cited. Notwithstanding the denunciation of the Catholic religion by Congress in its address to the people of Great Britain, the Canadians welcomed the American army.

Father La Valiniere also attached himself to the Americans, and had a most eventful career in consequence. He, too, had to leave Canada, and became really a "tramp-priest," so far and wide were his wanderings. But of him another time, perhaps. Father Floquet, of Montreal, was also under suspicion by Bishop Briand, and had to make explanations and apology because of his "complaisancy" towards Rev. John Carroll during his mission to Canada on behalf of Congress.

Briefly, however, we will take up the narrative of the career of Father Lotbiniere. A letter of Col. Henry Caldwell to General Murray (British), dated June 15, 1776, relative to the Americans in Canada, said:

"The priests, in general, behaved well and refused to confess the Canadians in the rebel interest, for which they suffered persecution, Messire de Lotbiniere alone excepted. He they proposed to make Bishop."‡

In the *Journal of the Most Remarkable Occurrences in Quebec* (p. 220), by an Officer of the Garrison, it is recorded, Nov. 14, 1775,

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* *Journal of Charles Porterfield*, vol. vi, no. 3, p. 203, of "Publications of the Southern History Association."

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Historical Magazine*, August, 1867, p. 103.

on the authority of a deserter, that the Americans have ordered all the priests in Orleans who refuse to give absolution to rebellious Canadians to be carried to the camp. They have appointed a priest called Lotbiniere to absolve the people; they give him a salary of fifteen hundred livres and promise him a bishopric.

Among the Canadians two regiments were recruited for the American army, one under Colonel James Livingston, the other commanded by Colonel Moses Hazen. These were called "Congress' Own." They really were but battalions. Hazen's regiment, in the spring of 1776, had about five hundred men. When it left Canada and got to Albany, New York, in August, 1776, it had less than one hundred. It was increased by recruiting chiefly in Pennsylvania, but as late as December, in 1779, it numbered about one hundred and fifty-three men.

Colonel Livingston's regiment was subject to the same vicissitudes. It, too, had been formed of Canadians, and on January 26, Father Lotbiniere was appointed its chaplain by General Benedict Arnold. After the failure of the Canadian campaign, the regiment, greatly reduced by desertions, made its way to New York State. John Gilmary Shea, in his *Life of Archbishop Carroll* (p. 144), gives the name of the chaplain as Rev. Francis Louis Chartier de Lotbiniere, of the Order of Malta. This is an error. It was his brother, Louis Eustache, who was the chaplain of the Revolutionary Americans. Tanguay's *List of Canadian Clergy* gives the names of four priests named "Lotbiniere," only two of whom, however, are within the possibilities of the question. One was Louis Eustache (the son of a priest of the same name, who, at the death of his wife in 1723, was ordained in 1726), who was born August 16, 1715, ordained September 23, 1741, and died at Loretto, diocese of Quebec, October 17, 1786. The other was Francis Louis, born December 13, 1716, ordained the same day as his brother Louis Eustache, and died in the United States in 1784. Francis Louis Lotbiniere was a Franciscan Recollect, and assumed the name of Father or Friar Eustache, no doubt, in honor of his older brother. In the valuable document given below it will be observed that the "rebel" chaplain says he was born in the "beginning of 1716." Francis Louis, we are told in Tanguay's *List*, was born at the end of that year, while Louis Eustache was born in August, 1715. During his chaplaincy he signed himself "Louis." It is more probable, therefore, that the Canadian priest who was chap-

lain in the American Army was Louis Eustache Lotbiniere. Francis Louis, it will be observed, died in 1784, in the United States, while Louis Eustache died in Canada in October, 1786. By a letter to the President of Congress, given below, it is shown that the chaplain was alive and at Burlington, N. J., in January, 1786. As that letter is the last discovered record of him it is probable that after receiving the pay claimed he went to Canada and there died the following October. The following references to this chaplain are from official records.

On August 10, 1776, in Congress, the Committee on Sundry Canadian Petitioners reported:

"That the Rev. Mr. Louis Lotbiniere was, on the 26th of January last, appointed by General Arnold, Chaplain to the Regiment under the command of Col. James Livingston, and acted in that capacity until the retreat of the Army from Canada, and was promised by General Arnold the pay of £14.10s. per month, including Rations; and that there is now a balance of 124 Dollars 84-90ths due, and that the same ought to be paid to him and he continue a Chaplain in the pay of the United States."*

On October 18, 1776, Lotbiniere was Paid by the Board of War of Congress $41.30 for one month's salary as French Chaplain.†

The Journal of Congress, January 29, 1777, reports that

"The Committee of Treasury reported there is due to Mons. Lotbiniere, a Canadian Chaplain, for his pay and rations from the 10th of November 1776 to the 10th of January, 1777, 82.60 dollars to be paid to Col. Smith."

In 1777, March 14, Congress ordered

"That 82.60 dollars be paid by warrant to Monsieur Lotbiniere for two months' pay and rations as chaplain from the 10th of January last."

Then on May 27, 1777, Congress moved that

"for the future there be only one chaplain allowed in each brigade of the Army and that such chaplain be appointed by Congress with same pay, rations and forage as a Colonel."

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* *American Archives*, series v, vol. i, p. 1604.
† *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p 1407.

While on July 8, 1777, Father Lotbiniere sent to Congress this petition:

"To the honbl Congress

"Gentlemen

"In consideration of my zeal for Liberty and some little indemnification for my many Losses you were pleased to appoint me Chaplain the 10th of August last—my salary then amounted to 41–⅓ dollars including my Rations (every month) which with economy enabled me to live, but now that every necessary of life bears an exorbitant price you will not, I am persuaded think me unreasonable in solliciting an augmentation, being one of your oldest chaplains I hoped you would have appointed me to brigade but I have been made sensible that you have not a sufficient number of Catholics in your service to form so great a corps, besides being above three score years of age the fatigues of the campaign would be more than my strength could well bear. As general arnold was an eye witness to my zeal and services in canada i am convinced they will, when attested by his excellency, plead to powerfully in my favor to admit of the least doubt of the success of this application from

"gentlemen
"your most obedient
"humble servant
"Lotbiniere chaplain of
"the united States
"philadelphia
"Julii 8th 1777."*

The foregoing document proves his presence in Philadelphia. There are no signs of his performing any religious exercises at this time. How could he without the proper faculties from an ecclesiastical authority? All he may possibly have done was to minister to the Canadian prisoners captured at Three Rivers, who had been brought to Pennsylvania and were held at Bristol. Among the number was one Captain Lotbinier, possibly a nephew he later refers to.†

This appeal was promptly answered the same day, July 8, 1777, when Congress ordered to be paid

* MSS. Papers of Continental Congress. Petitions, vol. xlii, p. 142, State Dept.
† *Penna. Archives*, second series, vol i, p. 426

"to Monsr. Lotbiniere, a Canadian chaplain, for his pay and rations, from 10th of June to 10th of July, being one month, 41.30–90 dollars."

While on August 12, we read of another order to this effect, that

"To the Reverend Monsr. Lotbiniere, for one month's pay and rations as chaplain, from July 10 to the 10th inst, 48 dollars, also for the difference of pay which took place 11th of April last in the pay of chaplains, he having received only at the rate of 33⅓ dollars per month, the difference 6–⅔ dollars per month for three months is 20 dollars."

Then on September 13 another:

"That there be advanced to Monsr. Lotbiniere, chaplain in the service of the U. S. 48 dollars on account of his pay and rations and for which he is to be accountable."

And again that Congress, on July 20, 1778, ordered

"that a warrant issue to Mr. Lotbiniere a balance of 87.65–90 dollars as per account stated herewith for rations agreeably to a resolve of Congress of June last and for his pay and subsistence from the 11th of June to the 10th of July, 1778, the sum of 60 dollars making on the whole 147.55-90 dollars."

This 90th of a dollar did not mean 90 cents, as it does today. The figures "55-90th" meant to show the proportion in which old currency then stood to new issues, because of the depreciated value of the old.

The Chevalier de Manduit du Plessis, a French officer who embraced the American cause in the Revolution, on February 13, 1778, wrote to Henry Laurens, President of Congress, then in Session at York, Pa.:

"I have forgot to tell you at York town that the abbee or priest de lobiniere was a very interesting man for the affairs of Canada, he is one of the best and Most Riche family of noble men in that country, he is not attached to british government, and he has proved it, he is ennemy of the bishop of Montreal, and this bishop is entirely british, in one word he has not fanaticism. . . ."*

This was written a few days after Congress had promoted Du Plessis to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. Washington, in recom-

*MS. D. M. & Co., Nov., 1903.

mending this, said of him: "He possesses a degree of modesty not always found in men who have performed brilliant actions."

By the reports of Robert Morris, in his statements of accounts while Superintendent of Finance, from 1781 to 1784, the name of "Rev. Lewis Lotbiniere" appears as being paid a quarterly salary of $120.

On August 7, 1780, the following Petition was read in Congress:

To his Excellency the president of congress

SIR

I take the Liberty to addrese you this petition for congress I hope your excellency will be so kind as to read and strengthen it with all his influance; no thing in it to be read but what move the compassion of every body if one may be sensible of never so Little. I am of your excell. with the greatest respect the most humble and obedient servant

LOTBINIERE priest of canada

gentelmens

as you defer all my petitions to the board war which reject all my askings without their examining them; my Resolution was to wait for patiently the end of my misery which the deast [death] will shortly make up for and old gentelman as I am cannot keep him self a great while in living as I do. but as god forbid us to aim at the destruction of our being, I apply myself to you once for all wouchsafe gentalmens to hear and deceide on my fate by your self without your defering me, for I have to deal only but with you

not being able to take hold of a pension at the rate of 270 doll. per weeke I must draw for my Lodgement 216 d per month from the 240d. I am confined to then it Remains no more for my Living and clothing but 24d per month, tis to say 2 sh and 3 pence per month with a Ration, a day, of meat and bread without liquor for it was drawn 3 months ago as the wood and candelle last year; I die too with hungry and am almost naked indeed if I would not patch myself the childrens would run after me when my bussiness call me abroad, be pleased gentalmens to remember the important service I done in canada, when the general arnold called for me, not only I stoped the tumults of healthfull canadiens despaired by the bishop order but by my exhortations they became afterward zealous more than ever. be convinced I would have never begot of you any thing if you had been

victorious. my place at quebec and rents and pensions afforded me enough to live I did not stand to be chaplain for it; and the convention transacted betwen general arnold and me in presence of all armys officers was in case of no succes. this convention was satisfied when we came and Layd in your books: it was to Receive 10 pounds and 10 sh. in hard money or in money which would have the same vallour and not in money which would have no more but the name
I hope gentelmens you will not keep me in so a sad misery Longer; and the bishop of quebec will not have the consolation to say—Lotbiniere, was in a good circonstance here both by his place, rents, and pensions but he did give over all for the americans, who for rewarding him have shaked him of, and he is dead with hungry and misery in the streets of philadelphia I hope you will let me receive 14 pound and 10 sh. in hard money or exchange according to the convention. your ratification on't is a sacred thing and you will restore me, wood, candill and liquor of which I have been deprived unknown to you and against your consentement and the gentelman Hildago continental trescurer will pay me henceforth as he did formerly for the pay master general is a brutish man who wont pay me tho he has got money and I present him the board wars order that which prejudice me so far as I die with hungry for want money and have use me roughly if my misery does not strike your hearts dispose gentalmens of my Life it is better for me to die at once then to Lead a Lingering and sade Life at Least I would have the consolation to say I die by the order of those to whose brother I have given the Life at expens of my fortune and my own Life

LOTBINIERE priest of Canada

[Papers of Continental Congress (No. 78, vol. xiv, p. 367).]

To his Excellency
HUNTINGTON the president of Congress
at philadelphia.

[Endorsed:]
Letter from Lotbinier
Read Aug. 7 1780
Referred to
Mr. Muhlenberg
Mr Matlack
Mr Lovell

[TRANSLATION.]

SIR:

As you understand and read French perfectly I have taken the liberty to give you in French the information which you ask for, altho I read and write English as well as I do French

1 In my petition to Congress I relate

1—the agreement between General Arnold and myself was 14 pounds 10 shillings in gold or in money which had its value, not in that which had only the name.

2—The important service which I rendered the Continental army by my presence, because the Canadians despaired (disposed) by the order of the bishop would have risen up again if I seemed to be connected with the Tories and to fall in with the army.

3—I represent, naturally the misery in which I am placed by the depression or the fall of (money) because as you know they now ask 72 for a kind which I could only touch at 3 dollars and ½ crown

4—I represent the injustice which was done me some years ago by taking from me (my allowance) of wood and candles I was almost frozen and the miseries of the winter being passed, at Spring I was almost at the point of death. In the spring the took away (my allowance) of liquor A man of my age has need to take something to strengthen him

5 The morning 5 I ended my petition by praying Congress to hold to the argeement of 14 pounds 10 shillings in gold or its equivalent and not to give to the Bishop of Quebec the satisfaction of saying Lotbiniere almost to spite me, my clergy, and his family (my brother was in London at the time) the party of Americans for the recompense have abandoned it and he died of misery and hunger on the pavements of Philadelphia so much was he at his ease at the place board and rent in fact I was the 2nd cure of Quebec a place which gives me 230 pounds sterling and more a year I send my family 30 pounds sterling and in rent 40 I show them in all 300 pounds.

Finally I end my petition by praying Congress to pay me thru Mr Hildagos continental treasurer since I have been finished since last April and have nothing more to do with the war board because it was a misery to be paid before those two months which are due me I have been two months with no pay and consequently will be as miserable as I have been

There sir is the information you seek I flatter myself that you

desire to give me your help on all those occasions which present themselves and you will always find me a man full of gratitude

I have the honor to be with profound respect

Sir.

Your most humble and very obedient servant

LOTBINIERE priest of Canada

Philadelphia Aug. 12, 1780

[Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 78, xiv, 371.]

On August 30, 1780, this Petition was presented:

GENTLEMEN

On my Reading Last Week your Raising the officers, Salarys laid into the publik papers my heart was very griev,d not to see the Regiment,s chaplains included into it I can,t help thinking you had forgotten me and them: for you continued me in this function 1° in behave of my important services in canada by assisting with my functions against the bishop will the dying canadiens, who should have removed themselves if I were not declare myself to assist them, and made a League with the torys in order to fall upon the remains of the army which would have been very little by their giving it over 2° in behave of ısnoar, ng place Estates and pensions, which amounted to 600 pound a year, that which was known to general arnold and to other officers, when they dunned me to enter into thier inteaets by consequence I did not want to be chaplain to live 3° in behave of the convention (between the general arnold and I) to get a month 14 pounds and 10 shellings which would amounted now 290 pounds, or 773 dollars and one third according to the course of congress-money into the publick it is to say 20 for one, in consequence your intention was to raise me in this hard time, for all things, above said, were laid the 12 august 1776 in the congress book.

then pray gentlemen be pleased to looke kindly upon my sad condition. I (it is true) I Receiv,d eighteen month ago sixty dollars for my subsistence and salarys, and one ration a month. as long as the Congress money has been at the rate of four, five six, seven, even ten for one in tmy loblickI could help me with very much ado for I did get at that time wood and candles but all misfortunes have at once fallen upon me 1° the gentleman peters against all human right bereaved me of wood and candles on the sharpness of winter 2° the congress money came to 20 for one and all things rised to so heigh a

point that I could pay pension no more. then from that time I kept my self in little room which I pay 12 dollars a week and I eat there in a great misery my only ration which I cook by myself.
indeed how very sad is my life is it possible a man of my extraction sixty and three years old (for I was born the 13 december 1716) should be so ill a man, say I, who long his life was attended by trhee servants at least; a man who has heartily sacrificed six hundred pounds a year, and calm life to sustain your interests: a man who has made himself hated by both his own famely and the Clergy and all Noble mens in Canada for his taken for the liberty: a man who is not able to receive any thing from his country: a man who despised for your sake, the strong attempts from the prisoner officers at bristol above all my two nepvieus to bring me back to canada: a man who Escaped from the jail ninteen month ago in which he has been 3 weeks and five days; what it would not have hapen,d if I did listen to the favorable offers from a great many people
I hope gentelmen you will be moved to the pity in my favour and you will deal with me as much kindly as you did with several who are in their country and never done and will never do as much services as I did in canada by six month remember you used me when I came here as a regiments major by your giving 33 dollars and one third with three rations that sum (which was above the convention betwen general arnold and I since it was no more 38 doll, the rations included) that sum was at that time as good as silver or gold; but you give me now no more but 3 dollars and one ration surely which you would not have proposed so trifling a sum indeed I Set a too high value upon your gratitude not to think you will make a pride of your raising my salarys as you did when I came here it is to say to use me as a regiment,s major by giving me the Same Salarys I would be in the right to have the commission of brigad chaplain; since I am now, after mrs [next] Spring, the Eldest; butt I am to old even at the point to grow infirm, I hope you will receive kindly my petition and you will give me the same Salarys of a major

LOUIS LOTBINIERE priest of Canada and
Chaplain of united States

Addressed:

To his Excellency the president and to honourable delegates of united States at philadelphia

Endorsed:

Letter from Mr. Lotbiniere. Read Aug. 30, 1779. Referred to the board of treasury passed 2 Septr.

[Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 78, xiv, 279.]

The annexed document, the report of the committee to whom the letter was referred, is preserved. It reads thus:

"The Comtee on the Letter of Mr. Lotbiniere report:

"That the Board of Treasury be directed to make such anadjustment of the account of the Rev. Lewis Lotbiniere as that he may receive the full Benefit of the Stipulation made to him by Gen. Arnold on the 26th of January 1776 and confirmed by Congress on the 10th of August following."*

The following is the translation of a French letter to President Huntingdon of Congress:

[TRANSLATION.]

SIR

I cant but to be well satisfied with the honourable congress for his gracious accepting of my petition, and his resolving (according to the decision of a committy appointed by this Respectable assembly on the purpose) viz that I should receive henceforth 40 dollars in hard money or Exchange per month; as it was transacted the 26 januar. 1776 in Canada, between the gen. arnold and me: and I would receive the full benefit of what I lost by the depreciation of money from 1 7ber, untill now. indeed I Cannot never Enough shew my gratitude to that illustrious assembly, and to your Excellency for it.

in that time, tis to say, the 5 7ber last the Repartition of my losts by the depreceiation of money was made, by a sub commissioner appointed by the Theseaurys office, and that repartition amounted to 965 doll and 5 sh. which this board accepted of, and in persuance of it drawn up in my favour an order for mr hildegas but instead of their specfyn gold, or exchange according to the Resolutions of the Congress; that order announce that I would be paid in the Emitted bill even without specifying l'exchange I went to the Treseaurer; but this gentile man not having that money (for it is not printed yet) in his office, he could not pay me So that my misery is stronger than before, for as I was almost naked, and did stand in need of both coat

*Endorsed "Delivered Aug. 21st 1780. Passed Aug. 22, No. 51." The original is found in volume 3, no. 19, p. 613, of MS. Papers Congress, State Dept.

Linen and hats and paying my pension from the 23 aug last untill 28 7ber last I have taken upon trust almost 100 dollars in specie but my creditor refuse now to advance me, and as I was in the unhappy posture by that not to pay four Weeke of my pension, my land lord not only expelled me but keep my linen in that hard condition I went to mr hildegas, and prayed him to give me the exchange, Since thos bills emitted were as good as gold. he told me he cannot but if I should present my sade circonstance to your excellency in order to draw from it an order about the Exchange, he will do it, and he added that he did think your Excellency will do me that favour readily, since the resolution of congress about me was in specie or exchange I hope that your excellency will be moved on my misery and will not be contented to see me in the streets for want of being pay,d tho I have an order

I am with a profond Respect of your excellency
the most humble and obedient servant
LOTBINIERE priest of Canada and chaplain

at philadelphia 28 october 1780.

[Papers of Continental Congress, No. 78, xiv, p. 379.]

Addressed:

To his excellency the honourable Samuel huntington
the president of the Congress
at philadelphia

Endorsed:

Letter from Lotbiniere
Read Oct 24, 1780.

SIR

I am so much indebted to your Excellency for all its kind attentions for me that I am ashamed to trouble it again but as you are the father of the patrial abode all of those who have signalised themself for the common cause I cannot help having recourse to your excellency in that present time.

it is due to me 5 month aug. sept. octob. novemb. decemb. I went las tuesday to the board war in order to be pay,d I was answered that they were to be bussy and to come again any time and I should be pay,d. yesterday I presented myself they told me they by Congress order, Cant, pay any body untill a new one as the bills emitted of this province are not set out yet I cannot draw any money from the tresury with my order bearing 965 doll. and 5 sh. and I was

told that they will be emitted but within a month, so that I am very puzeled not having but 200 continentales doll. for the 10000 dollars which the honourable congress granted me the last 29 october I was obliged to pay 7500 doll. to my Creditor it did remain no more but 2500 to maintain my Self from that time untill now and I find that I have spared them with a great economy I hope Sir you will be so kind as to present to the congress whose kindness for me I cannot shew enough my gratitude to, that I stand in need of the Exchange of fourty dollars either on account of my order or of what is due to me for five month of my Salarys in order that I may live untill the currency of the bill emitted

Let your Excellency be convinced that it is impossible any one should entertain more devout Sincere and fervant wishes for its happyness and prosperity that I do I am Sir with the utmost Respect

the devout and humble Servent of your excellency

LOTBINIERE priest of Canada and

at philadelphia Chaplain of Congress

the inst 6 januar. 1781

Endorsed:

Letter from Lotbiniere, Jan'y 6, 1781 Read, 11. Referred to the board of treasury.

T. B. Jany 15, 1781 "Mr. Lotbiniere must have Patience until the Paymaster is furnished with Money. J. G."

[Papers of Continental Congress, No. 78, xiv, 405.]

SIR

there will be to morrow three Weeke Elapsed Since I Wrotte to your excellency that I had about me no more but 200 cont. doll. in the same day I heard that the honnourable congress was over whelm,d with utmost important affairs and was advised to wait, for one week, what I did; never the less as 200 d. were not enough to maintain my Self I Spent the following 2 days in running about this city for searching some body kind enough to lent me money: and after a long and true search I had the good fortune to meet with 400 dollars but with the interest of forty per cent: tis to say, I must, return to my lender 560 doll within a month

the next week after I presented my self again to your excellency then you promis,d me kindly to read my Letter in the same day in congress assembly, what you did: but what grief was I over whelm,d with when your excellency told me that my letter had been defered

to the treasure,s office. be pleased to remember that I answer,d I will not be pay,d before a month be elapsed. what I told is happened, for from that time I convey my Self every day into either treasury,s office or treascrer,s house, but all to no purpose there is never money, at least, for me, for I heard there was a great many who have been pay,d last weeke

neverteless all my money is gone and I cant now find any money to be borrowed. what will become of me I want shoes and wood no money to buy them, even for my living, and paying my room. Shall I Sell my Cloths and linen and return again into the Same misery which I was in last summer? what benefit shall I reap from the pity which the honourable Congress took on me at the Seight of my petition of inst 22 last aug. if its resolution is not put in execution? would not I have the room to think the commissionerys Laugh,d at me in giving me 965 doll and 5 sh. new money for depreciation, to think their order for it was a Stok Set on the delawr river fogs Since I cannot draw any money from it even from my salarys which is due to me five month ago.

indeed I am in a very mist, and know no more what Course to take. nevertheless if your assembly is inclined to me never so little: it will perceive easily that two hundred dollars for five month of salary and 965 and 5 sh from which it must draw 136 the exchange of 10000 continental dollars is not so a great Cash to be drawn from the immense Stok for the expenses. will perceive, say I, that I cannot perish in the street with hungry and misery without its good heart being troubled at it, that favour (granted to me), will dispose certainly with in the favour of those States my countrymens however angry they were with me at my taking the interest of american Cause. I hope your excellency will employ all its influence in my favour and I will never be able enough to shew my gratitude for it. I am with utmost and profond Respect of your excellency

the most devouted and obedient Servant

LOTBINIERE priest of Canada and

at philadelphia chaplain of Congress

26 of januarie 1781

Endorsed:

Letter from Mr. Lotbiniere Read Jan'y 30, 1781 Referred to the Board of treasury.

[From the Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 78, xiv, 415.]

~~I~~ stand in need of the exchange of fourty dollars either on account of my order or of what is due to me for five ~~dollars~~ months of my salary in order that I may live until the currency of the bill remitted

Let your excellency be convinced ~~that~~ it is impossible any one should entertain more devout sincere and fervent wishes for its happyness and prosperity than I do I am for with the utmost respect

the devout and humble servant
of your excellency

Lottiniere priest of Canada
and Chaplein of Congress

at philadelphia
the 1st 6 januar. 1781

Mr Lotbiniere Priest of Canada and the only Clergyman of that Country who against the will of his Bishop, his family and friends espoused the Cause of Liberty applied to me as having commanded the Army in Canada in 1776 & revealed to him his unhappy Situation owing to the non payment of his Salary & of the warrant received the 2d September Last he told me that he had in fact received the 2d of october last on Account of his warrant ten Thousand Continental Dollars money being then at 75 for one This Sum would furnished him with a suit of Clothes compleat Shirts, Stockings & Shoes had enabled him to Live till the 2d of February But after the 2d of february the Continental Dollars having fallen prodigiously so that state for Continental Dollars were 200 for one & State money at three for one would not furnish him, but a peruke a paire of Boots & moderate Living upon the other ten thousand Dollars which he received the 2d of last february would be in fact about five hundred with which he expected to Live one week

In truth, the honorable place which he has occupied and the great revenues which he has Lost in Support of our Cause the great Services which he rendered to our Army in preventing the Canadiens who were about retiring from our Army in Consequence of the orders given by the Bishop to the priests to Deny funeral Services &c the Sacrament to Such as Should Engage in our Army. A Service I say the more grand as all the Army would have been Massacrered all things Speak in his favor They were communicated to you by General Arnold & other officers & therefore we could not without going contrary to Justice & without greatly disaffecting the Clergy the Nobless & the Inhabitants of the Country against us Abandon This honest Priest who had rendered himself obnoxious by espousing our Cause: of Course we ought to pay the Residue of his Warrant which Amounts in fact to 699 State Dollars & Nine Months Salary amounting to three hundred & Sixty Dollars

As he Complains that the Board of War and Treasury have not Executed any of the orders of Congress upon his affair we ought to give a particular order either upon the Treasury or upon the paymaster to pay him Exactly the first of every Month for as there is no communication from him to Canada but is altogether cut off (This is not Sir the Case with the other officers who can retire to their families & wait for their pay or at one Stroke to cut off his head This will be according to him to rendre him Service he would prefer Such

a Death to a Languishing Live which must carry him with ignominy to the grave I repeat Gentlemen we ought as well for the Sake of Justice as for engaging in our favor the Canadians who Though Incensed against him will not have a good opinion of our abandoning or not paying him. his age birth & Character is respectable & it is too Much for him to go thirty or forty times to obtain Nothing but to experience the ill Nature of the board of War and the Commissioners of the Treasury

Endorsed:

Mr. Lotbinieres Letter Translated

2nd Endorsement:

Letter from Mr. Lotbiniere
May 15, 1781. Referred to the board of treasury, to take Order

Trea Board 16 May 1781. Issue a Warrant for 1140 Dolls New Bills 832 41-90 in lieu of a Warrant drawn on the Treasurer the residue 307 49-90 Lotbiniere to be made accountable.

[Papers of Continental Congress, No. 78, xiv, p. 419.]

PHILADA FEBY 10th 1781

This is to Certify That Monsr Louis Lotibinier has this day lodged in my Office a Warrant of Congress in his favour dated the 2d of Septr last for Nine hundred & sixty five Dollars & 66-90ths of a dollor of the Bills emitted in pursuance of the Resolutions of Congress of the 18th of March last, in part of which have this day paid him agreeable to Act of Congress of the 8th Instant Ten thousand Dollars of the Old Emissions.

ML. HILLEGAS Cont Trear

[Papers of Continental Congress, No. 78, xiv, 427.]

Pay office Philadelphia April 9 1781 This Certifys that Monsieur Lotbiniere has pay due to him from the first day of August last

PHILIP ANDIBERT A.P.M.G.

8 months pay due

[Continental Congress, No. 78, xiv, p. 431.]

On December 30, 1901, while making an examination of the papers of the Continental Congress at the State Department in Washington, I found these documents, and also, among "Petitions" (no. 42, vol. iv, p. 418) the following:

MEMORIAL FROM FATHER LOUIS LOTBINIERE, CHAPLAIN AND PRIEST OF CANADA.

"GENTLEMEN:

"Would to God that i had never known either the general montgomery or arrived in Canada; i would not now starve with hunger and cold for not being payd according to the convention made between general arnold and me the 26 Januarii 1776 and ratified in Congress assembly the 12 August 1776 for long my Life; to indemnify me for having lost my parish of 1200 bushel of all grains, wheat, peace sat (?) & my herdship and two houses at quebec, the Revenue of all together did amount to 750 pounds philadelphia, in keeping (against the will of general Carloton (*sic*) and bishop) your army compounded with 300 americans no more at that time; from being murdered by 800 Canadiens enlisted in this army and dispirited at the order of this folish oliver briant bishop to all priests to abbandon them at the death, like Rebels to the romain church and to the King of England their very King.

"This convention is a sacred Deed which we cannot brake without being contrary to the Law de bona fide, i am certain gentlemen that you never do. your good behaviour admired of all Europe above all france from the time of its alliance with america make myself depend upon it, and i may tell that i am the utmost satisfied with your kindness to me from the time i am in america. but you have given always too much authority to the officers of your treasury, these officers think no more but of their interest. gibson and putnam have kept me during three years in the utmost misery, in denying to pay me according to the Congress order and did wait for the falling at all of continental money. these present officers compel me to sign a warrant for mr. hildegras, as it were. this gentleman did pay me hic et nunc and did give a draft upon the receiver of taxis it is the same thing as it were they did give a draft upon the Delaware river fogs for this receiver james ewing deny to pay it, so that from the 1st of April Last i have received 120 dolls one quarter. it is due to me from the first of this month 2 quarters 240 doll and i have not one penny to get some victual and wood in this sharp cold—some neighbors take me on pity and carry me some of it, without this Little secour i would be dead now.

"it is a crying thing that a priest born in the beginning of the

year 1716 eaten with gout and Rumathism who has lost 750 pounds of pensylvania per year to save your country-fellows from the murder, perish with hunger and cold under your eyes at 71 years old. i hope gentlemen it will not be so, and your bowels will be moved at my situation. As i am very old and my sight begin to put out, pray gentlemen to spare me the trouble to go to meet mr. Ewing (now you commissionaire) at trenton so often, Like a poor beggar as i did, i may Live ten years yet and certainly you will not abandon me in my oldness and infirmity; but it is a supposition i will never do, but to spare all trouble both from you and me ask two years and two quarters that will amount to twelve hundred dollars; and to facilitate my benefactors i will take paper money provided i may be payd in this month, then i buckle myself sincerely to death and pray God that state maybe sincerely with your Company united Like it was in the beginning for the best prosperity of America.

"Louis Lotbiniere your
"chaplain and priest of canada."

The above petition is without date, but the following letter to the President of Congress, dated in January, 1786, refers to the petition, and agrees with the chaplain's "sharp, cold" weather. Of the weather for those years, Peirce's record says: "The winters of 1786 and 1787 were tolerably mild. There were some cold days, of course."

The letter of Father Lotbiniere, moreover, shows the distressed and disunited condition of the country just after the close of the war for independence. It is as follows:

LETTER OF FATHER LOTBINIERE TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

"January 2, 1786.

"Sir

"I send to your Excellency a petition for the Congress in assembly. I hope that your Excellency will be good enough to Read it. I was to insert in this petition, what I writte to your Excellency in particulare: but this petition would be too long.

"Sir I sie with a great great grief these united states, Respected of all Europe for their union; now disunited: this honourable Congress alwais prudent and wise in his actions, formely respected of

these united states now dispised of these disunited states: which would presume to deprive this honourable assembly of all powers, even money, which the people give no more but to pay the debtes; and charges contracted with their one accord in the time of war to save their Estates and Lifes, it seems that they pretend to dissolve this respectable assembly to exerce a tiranik power, and vexe the people with more Liberty than they do now. indeed the frame of this gouvernement has been inspired by some tory in these states. it is a snare Laid to these imbecille and ignorants men who set in the house of these states, to make fall america in second bondage again.

"For what will become of them? if this honourable assembly is constrained to break of for want Money to pay Either debt or charge? What shall they do? 1° they cant depend opon one another, since they are disunited 2° France will turn the bake. 3° they will never find any good soldier, and the militia will not march. they are too angry for their plonderage. more Ever it is a poor troop. they will be cut in pice one after other. it is of the utmost consequence to these states to keep this honourable assembly, and to pay the respect due to it. Since this assembly is compounded with the delegates of all states; they are reputed to be the best of Every states. then this Respectable body must be invested of supreme aucthority, to name all judges the 1° and 2d. the treasurer, the receiver of taxis the First and sub collectors of all towns both Large and small of these States. to give the order to the receiver to call to an account the collectors both county and sub collectors. to the treasurer to call to an account the receivers of taxis and the assembly general compounded with all judges of Every town both Large and small to call on account the treasurer. then this Liberty purchased with the blood of so many good citizens, and so many fortune over-set, would be everlasting: strong enough to keep itself from the tyranik gouvernement. Like holland, gene, venise, but the first of the houses of town both Large and small in these states won't agree with it. they pretend by the authority they have usurped by the False votes of mob harmeless and Little people to plunder this money to appropriate it; and to pay the publik debts and Charges to give a small portion to the Congress as it were a favour from them.

"I explain myself better to your Excellency. the interest has been in all time the head of all Evils in the world; in particular in these countrys. (the Lawyers whose the science consist for having

written 3 or four month in the office of some other Lawyer) very gredy and covetous; at the time of election pretend to be president or mayor or alderman: bribe the votes. and it is an easy thing to get from the mob 5 or 600 votes with 5 or 6 gallons of rum. this Little people have the order to present themself the first in this house; and before the honest people come. this assembly is broke of, and very often the most unworthy men are elected in spite of the very honest gentlemen. one proced to the election of county and sub-collectors, and they and elected after the same manner. these collector maintained by this house, force the poor people to pay the taxis settled by this house: in putting some in jail other in Execution Lay out at seven per cent this publik money (Like Thomas Fenemore) make wait for the Receiver of taxis Some time two years: don't give any account, because they agree with this house, and grow very riche in a Short time. the receiver of taxis, and the treasurer are Elected in the time of assembly after the same manner and act Like the collectors. So that it is a very plunderage, and a tour of babel. the money of the poor people is to make riches the treasurer, receiver of taxis and collectors of these States and not to pay the Charges and debt. they are more tory than those who did oppose to the independency. your Excellency may be convinced that the King of France has made his alliance with your honourable assembly which did at that time represent all america, it was to humble angland whose the power would be too strong, if this coutone did keep these countrys yet France would be alwais good friend of america provided the states could continue to be united; but the King is informed of their disunion their plonderage upon the poor people of their states and disrespect for the Congress, is not contented at all. the ministry of France has got the Catalogu of the names of thos who Compound the assembly general of all States the name of those who set in the house of town both Larger and Small the name of all treasurers, and Receiver of taxis of States and the name of all county and sub-collectors of these States. my Letter from the France ministry will be a proff of it. this Letter is dated the 28th Septembre 1786 (?). when it will question of it I Will shew it.

"I hope Sir that your Excellency will urge the honourable Congress to ordo me that I may be paid For it is Less Crime to ordorr my death than to Kill me by inche in denying my pay and it is due to me 240 doll for two quarters from the first day of januarii 1786. I am

with a profond Respect of your Excellency the utmost humble obedient servant

"LOUIS LOTBINIERE,
"priest of canada.

"at burlington [N. J.]
"2 januarii
"1786

"my direction is to Reverend Louis Lotbiniere board to burlington per bristol at bristol—."

Of Father Lotbiniere having performed any religious ceremonies or administered any of the Sacraments in Philadelphia, Burlington, or elsewhere there appears no sign.

We have seen that Congress ratified the appointment Arnold made with the priest in Canada in 1776; that later chaplains were only appointed to brigades; that in the army there were not enough Catholics to warrant Father Lotbiniere being so appointed, which meant that in no one brigade were there members of the Church numerous enough to justify his appointment, and even had there been, that the assignment of the duty to Father Lotbiniere would not have been acceptable to him because of his age and infirmities. So it is probable he did no active duty while with the Americans, but, because he had forfeited so much by his adherence to the American cause while the army was in Canada, Congress simply retained him on the pay-roll as a means of support, at times too inadequate, since chaplains as well as soldiers had to suffer for the need of money Congress could not provide.

Whether Father Lotbiniere had the faculities to perform the usual religious duties while army chaplain is a question. The permission, during the Revolutionary War, could have come only from the Vicar Apostolic of the London district, which it is improbable to suppose was the case, or from Rev. John Lewis, Superior of the Jesuits in Maryland until, in 1784, Rev. John Carroll was made Superior of the missions in this country. It is very unlikely that the said Superior gave permission to Father Lotbiniere to exercise the usually priestly faculties, as already in 1786, and maybe earlier, he had refused it to Father de la Valiniere, "a perfect rebel," who had also espoused the cause of the Americans and was made bitterly to suffer for it. When, in 1786, it was sought to allow Father de la Valiniere

to attend refugee Canadians in New York, Father Carroll declared that "he had not the power." Though later he was permitted to minister to his countrymen there who might desire his services. So I am of the opinion that a similar course was pursued with respect to Father Lotbiniere when at Philadelphia and vicinity at any time from 1777 to 1786. There really was no one to give him faculties.

[Thirteen pages of this article are from the *Records*, A. C. H. Society, March, 1902.]

A CATHOLIC INDIAN LOYALIST.

Charles Michel de Langlade, son of Augusti, was born in France, served in French army and emigrated to Canada.

Charles was born at Mackinaw, near the beginning of May, 1724. In 1745 he and his father removed to Bay des Puants now known as Green Bay. He was engaged in war with the Indians and commanded the inhabitants of Green Bay. In the war between France and England for Canada, Langlade led a party of Indians who opposed the English at Fort Duquesne in 1755.

After the War had ended by the cession of Canada to England, Langlade became a loyal British subject.

His services to the English cause during the Revolutionary War had been appreciated to secure him a life annuity of $800 besides three thousand acres of land on the borders of the River thames—then known under the name of La Trenche, in the Province of Ontario.—[*Wis. His. Soc. Col.*, vii, p. 182.]

He died in January, 1800. "The little colony at Green Bay went in a body to weep over his grave, which may still be seen in the old cemetery of the town." [p. 184.]

Langlade was by the Indians called A Military Conqueror. Like his father he always showed himself a submissive child of the Catholic Church, always giving every possible assistance to the intrepid missionaries who, from time to time, went to proclaim the gospel to the Canadians, half-breed and Indians, in this far-distant region. When he wore his British scarlet uniform, his hat and sword and a red morocco belt, his appearance was as becoming as it was warlike.

We know he cultivated all those moral virtues which characterize the true hero. The Wisconsin His. Soc. preserves the silver buckle of this belt.—[Page 185 vol. vii., *Wis. His. Soc. Col.*]

"TEACH YOUR CHILDREN TO TAKE A SPECIAL INTEREST IN THE HISTORY OF OUR OWN COUNTRY.

"WE MUST KEEP FIRM AND SOLID THE LIBERTIES OF OUR COUNTRY BY KEEPING FRESH THE NOBLE MEMORIES OF THE PAST."

—Fathers of the Third Plenary Council.

LETTER OF CAPTAIN HECTOR McNEILL APPEALING FOR RELIEF TO SAVE FATHER LOTBINIERE, CHAPLAIN OF CONGRESS, FROM "WANT AND MISERY." BECAUSE HE TOOK "THE PART OF THE AMERICANS IN THE DARKEST HOUR OF THEIR DISTRESS."

On January 14, 1779, while at Philadelphia, Captain Hector McNeill, Commander of the frigate Boston, wrote the following letter relative to Father Lotbiniere:

"SIR: Although I know that your time is constantly taken up with matters of importance yet I cannot help begging your attention for a few moments to the case of a person now under distress in this City whose situation formerly I was well acquainted with.

"I believe you are no stranger to the deplorable circumstances our army in Canada were reduced to, immediately after the death of General Montgomerie.

"I myself am a witness of, the amazing fortitude and perseverance of that handfull which remained under Genl Arnold, who with a number of much less than half the Garrison, kept up the Blockade of Quebec for some months untill reinforcements arrived from these States: it was at that critical time the General stood in great need of the assistance, and friendship of the canadians, who although they

were well disposed towards the american army, and their cause, yet were frightened by their Priests, who threatened them with Excommunication, and had actually refused every church privilege to any who served or inclined to serve on the side of the Americans; On this occasion the person above spoken of step'd forth, and offered his services as a clergy-man for the canadians, which good policy, and the Exigency of our Affairs, inclined the Genl to accept, and Mr. Lobenier was accordingly appointed chaplain to a Canadian Regt. much to the satisfaction of those poor men, who thought their eternall fellicity depended on the assistance of a Priest, etc.

"It is beyond doubt that the part M. Lobenier had taken rendered him obnoxious to the Brittish, consequently, he was obliged to quit his native country with our retreating army and throw himself on the mercy of a people whose part he had taken in the darkest hour of their distress.

"Since his arrival in this City he has enjoyed, by the Bounty of Congress, a small pittance which has made his exile Tollerable until the setting in of the present winter, but as the times grow worse even with those who have much greater Resources than this poor Gentleman can possibly have, so has it fallen heavily on him; for ever since the last of november he has been retrench'd by fire and candle which at this pinching season of the year are undoubtedly among the Necessarys of Life; Especially to a man in his situation, burthened with age, an utter stranger among us and totally unable even to begg in our language.

"I know this man as a Gentleman, to belong to one of the Greatest familys in canada, and as a clergeyman I believe the only one of that country honoured with the Religious Cross of Malta. I know also that he enjoyed a Living worth between four and five hundred pounds sterling a year, besides a Patrimonial estate, all of which he has lost through his friendship for the Americans. What pitty it is then, that in addition to the sacrifices he has made for our sakes, he should be suffered to pine away in want and misery, duering his exile from his friends and Country—in short I am shocked at the idea of the consequences this man's case may produce hereafter; a time may come once more when we may stand in need of the Friendly offices of the canadians, whom I fear instead of trusting us, will have reason to take warning, and reproach us with the unhappy fate of the Refugees from that country, many

of whom are now exposed to extreme poverty and little or no notice taken of their sufferings.

"I think it my Duty to make you acquainted with Mr. Lobenier's Case in particular not doubting of your disposition for doing all the Good you can on every Occasion.

"I am, Sir, with due Respect & Defference

"Your Most Obed^{t} Serv^{t}

"HECTOR MCNEILL."

"Philadelphia, January 14th, 1779.

[Proc. Mass. His. Soc. 1873, pp. 276–7. This letter was sold by Libbie & Co., Auctioneers, Boston, May 14th 1906.] The address "To the Hon'ble. Samuel Adams" has a pen drawn through it. The letter is labelled "Copy to Mr— on Lobenier's Situation, Jany. 14th, 1779."

The two Canadian "Regiments" [really but Battalions] known as "*Congress' Own*"—those of Col. James Livingston and Col. Moses Hazen—after the retreat of the Americans from Canada operated in New York along the Hudson River. The Battle of White Plains was fought October 29, 1776. On November 12, 1776, the Canadian Corps is noted as being at Fishkill, New York, where a priest, whose name is not given, attended the wounded and dying Maryland and Pennsylvania Catholic Soldiers. This could have been no other than Father Lotbinier. Congress on August 10, 1776, had confirmed his appointment as Chaplain made January 26, 1776, by General Arnold at Montreal.

The Abbè Lindsay, of Quebec, writes THE RESEARCHES :

The following extract from Mgr. Tetu's *Les Eve ques Quebec*, Mgr. Briand (p. 289), will convince you that you are mistaken in some items regarding the U. S. Chaplain Francois Louis Chartier de Lotbinier. I translate for your benefit:—

"Mgr. Briand says of him in a letter written in 1774 to *l'Abbé de l' Isle-Dieu*:

'Departed from Canada in 1753, at the time he was a Recollect, interdicted and suspended from all orders, afterwards a *Cordelier*, once more, after a dangerous illness, a Recollect, after that an apostate in Europe, during two years; then joined the Order of Malta, without becoming any better; driven out of Martinique, on account of his disorders, by the Capuchins and the Governor, he was not ashamed to come to Canada, where he was known for an arrant libertine, where

he knew that I was Bishop and should also have known that I was informed concerning his infamous doings.'"

On his return to Quebec he was once more interdicted by his first cousin, Mgr. d'Esglis, into whose hands Mgr. Briand had committed him. He had been audacious enough to write to London against his Bishop. His letter had no other result than to make him lose a pension of one hundred *ecus* which the Governor had allowed him after his interdiction. Nevertheless, this pension was given back to him owing to the pressing entreaties of Bishop Briand, who thus returned good for evil. "The *Abbe de Lotbiniere* died in the United States in 1784."

This last date is taken from *Abbe* (Mgr. later) Tanguay's *Repertoire du Clergi*, which is now, after due criticism and experience, acknowledged to be a nest of inaccuracies in every sense. The ex-Recollect's brother, Louis Eustache, who died at l'Ancienne-Lorette, nine miles from Quebec, in 1786, was not the Chaplain to the U. S. Army. The respective dates of the birth of the two brothers suffice to establish this fact, without having to seek for any further evidence.

Quebec, May 17, 1906.

Dear Sir:—In reply to yours of 14th inst., I beg to inform you:

1.—That Bishop Briand, in the letter of which I sent you a quotation, could not allude to the rebellion of the ex-Recollect de Lotbiniere, because he wrote prior to the American Revolution, the letter being dated 1774.

2.—That the *Abbe de Lotbiniere*, who died at l'Ancienne-Lorette in 1786, had been *cure* of that parish since 1777, and before this latter date, at Pointe-aux-Trembles, near Quebec (not to be mistaken for another parish of same name, near Montreal). Although he signs all the acts in the parochial register *Chartier de Lotbiniere* without any surname, according to the French usage, in his own Mortuary act, his name is given as *Eustache*. Bishop Hubert, the coadjutor, presided at his obsequies, which would certainly have not been the case had the other one been concerned. Moreover, after such a record as that of the ex-friar, he would not have been entrusted with a parish.

My appreciation of Mgr. Tanguay's *Repertoire du Clergi* applies principally to the second edition, far more inaccurate than the first. His *Dictionari Genealogique*, in spite of many inevitable errors,

remains a monument, unique of its kind, of indomitable, painstaking, and patient research, and a mine of valuable and reliable information.

The Rev. L. St. G. Lindsay, of the Cathedral, Quebec, gives THE RESEARCHES the information above.

This testimony showing the wayward life of Abbe Lotbiniere prior to 1774 seems to show that he was living on the pension given by the Governor of Canada. Captain Hector McNeil, however, declared that he knew the Abbe, when he became Chaplain to the United States, to "enjoy a living worth between four and five hundred pounds Sterling, besides a patrimonial estate, all of which he lost through his friendship for the Americans."

The Abbe is also stated to have died in the United States in 1784. That date, taken "from a nest of inaccuracies," is now known to be wrong, as the Chaplain was in January, 1786, alive in Burlington, New Jersey, and appealing to Congress for relief.

That he died in the United States sometime in 1786 is probable, for no references in the Journals of Congress appear during that or later years. Perhaps he died at Burlington, New Jersey, where he so long suffered from cold and hunger consequent upon his allying himself with the Americans.

THE MARQUIS DE LOTBINIERE, A SUPPORTER OF THE AMERICAN "REBELS." HIS SON, A CAPTAIN IN THE BRITISH FORCES, A PRISONER OF THE AMERICANS.

The Committee of Montreal secretly favoring the American Rebels wrote to the Committee of Safety of Massachusetts on April 8, 1775:

"The bulk of the people, both English and Canadian, wish well to your cause but dare not stir a finger to help you, being of no more estimation in the political scheme than the sailors are in shaping the course or working of the ship. They may mutter and swear, but must obey. The case is quite different with their noblesse or gentry. The pre-eminence given to their religion, together with a participation of honors and offices in common with the English, not only flatters their mutual pride and vanity, but is regarded by them as a mark of distinction and merit, that lays open their way to fortune; of Liberty or Law they have not the least notion." [*Am. Arch.* 4-2-306.]

General Arnold, however, wrote Governor Trumbull June 13, 1775, that "no more than twenty of the noblesse" favored the British. [*ibid.* 978].

A letter of a Continental officer at Ticonderaga, August 25, 1775, said:

The Canadians in general are our firm and steady friends; that is to say, the peasants; but what they call or term in Canada the noblesse are for despotic measures, which prevents many from appearing more open than they do for us."—[*Am. Ar.* 4*S*, 3 *vol*, *p*. 433.]

The majority of the Canadian *habitans* were by all evidence now obtainable, undoubtedly, at first, sympathizers and helpers of the American "Rebels." The Clergy and "Noblesse or Gentry" were generally the other way. An exception among the "Noblesse" was the Marquis de Lotbinier, whose family name and rank by social position has been an honorable one. It yet exists in the town and county of Lotbiniere, Canada.

The narration herewith presented shows father and son divided in sympathy and in action. The father active and zealous for the American cause, the son—Captain Chartier de Lotbiniere, serving England. He was one of the eight officers and sixty men taken prisoners at Fort Chambly, November 2, 1775. [*p*. 1419, *Am. Ar.* 4-3 *Vol.*]. The officers were taken first to Trenton, N. J., and later to Bristol, Pennsylvania. He was held for a year or more, being allowed by Congress $2 a day for support. [*Am. Ar.*, *Vol.* 3—Series 5—*p*. 1564.]

He was paid $104 for 52 weeks from November 2, 1775 to October 31, 1776, less $14.60 received from Gen. Schuyler, by whom Trenton was chosen as the place of detention. The Canadian officers taken at St. John who were sent to Windham and Lebanon, in Connecticut, were under parole of honor not to go into or near any seaport town, nor more than six miles from place of detention, nor carry on any political correspondence whatever on the subject of dispute between England and the Colonies. [*ibid p*. 1921. *Vol*. 3-*Series* 4.]

Marquis de Lotbiniere of Canada was in London June 3, 1774, when the Quebec Bill was before Parliament. He was "called in and examined" and declared he was of the "corps of nobility" of Canada; that the Canadians were desirous of having an Assembly to represent them in the government of the Province, but had not made appeal for it fearing the expenses of the Government to support would be more than they could afford; they desired a freer government than a Governor with a Council; that if some of the noblesse were admitted to that Council they might be satisfied; that the noblesse would not

object to an Assembly in which the Bourgeois were admitted if it were the King's pleasure to have it so; the Canadians like the English judication very well. [*Am. Ar. Vol.* 1-195—4th *Series.*]

The Marquis then went to France and there endeavored to serve the Americans. He was entrusted with a secret mission to them and in the Summer of 1776 left France for America.

He wrote to Franklin from Chatham, Cape Cod, Massachusetts, November 11, 1776, saying:

That he had arrived but two days and was on his way to Philadelphia without the dangers he had been exposed to since his departure from St. Pierre, Martinique, where he had arrived September 5th, from France. He enclosed a letter to his son which he asked Dr. Franklin to deliver to him. He informed Dr. Franklin he had resided at Paris and Versailles above two months before he went to St. Malo, when he embarked for St. Pierre and Miguelin. During his residence at Court he had had several conferences with De Vergennes, Minister of Foreign Affairs, as well as other important personages in France who appeared to be greatly concerned in the success of the Americans—more concerned about it than of their own affairs.

He wished Mr. Lotbiniere and daughter were with him, then he would act more openly than he should be able to do. He proposed that his son (a prisoner) be sent to Canada for his mother and sister, while he would fill his place in his absence.

In the meantime he would not be sparing of his advice because of his zeal for the common cause and the knowledge of the places where these views ought to be directed as soon as the enemy were obliged to act on the defensive.

The best way, he thought, was to close them in as much as could be done and avoid any general action, which if lost would divide the American army without hope of gathering them in time to prevent disunion which he saw was too great in the Colony attacked and upon which the enemy in London so much depended. It was necessary to act like Fabius. Keeping provisions behind and destroying the country they abandoned—thus the enemy would be destroyed and not being able to refresh themselves nor recruit in the country would in the winter be reduced to a small number and England could not support the exorbitant expense to which she had been subjected last winter.

On the 20th of November the Marquis arrived at Boston. He found that Franklin had sailed for France three weeks before so he sent the letter to John Hancock, the President of Congress. He forwarded also the letter he had written to his son on November 10th. He told the son he had come to relieve him from his captivity even in giving himself as hostage—if Congress accepted he would not be long in receiving his liberty. He told him if he had followed the advice he gave him last year he would be convinced of what has happened and would have remained quiet in his estate and restrained the sallies of humor and the desire of distinguishing himself in a military way, reserving himself for a fitter opportunity—and have spared himself many pains and losses and his father the mortal uneasiness for himself and the family which he had entrusted to his care, but whom he abandoned without knowing what might become of them in his absence.

Instead of giving himself up to a bravery, foolish in the case in which he employed it, he should have gone to Europe with his sister and not exposed himself to any reproaches of certain ancient officers who have had the talent of exposing our young gentlemen to the danger and keeping themselves out of it.

He told him that after many dangers and troubles he was here now hoping to join the family and to render the country the greatest and most essential services, if those who inhabit it will listen to him by showing them their true and only interest, which he had always done and at the expense of his own interest—though without success. He had particular reasons now to lay before them so they might renounce so unreasonable a zeal as that they had shown.—[*Am. Ar. Vol.* 3—*p.* 642-44, 5 *Series.*]

On December 24, 1776, from Boston the Marquis wrote the President of Congress relating that this was the third letter he had sent him—the first being the one to Dr. Franklin, which had been forwarded by Captain Faulkner on the 21st of November—the second, written December 4, had been taken by the post-office on the 12th. In the interval he had sent by Mr. Walker going to Philadelphia with two French gentlemen a letter to his son. Still there was no answer from his son. It was cruel of Mr. Walker to deprive him of the letter. He had not heard from his family for two years. He declared the great and ardent desires of his soul were for the success of the American arms; he had not been able to show the commission on which he

came to the country—that he had not been backward in communicating his ideas for the preservation of the States—when he left France the commission he accepted could not be granted without a reserve of disavowing him in case things did not succeed in the manner expected.

He had not acted with less ardour and zeal since his arrival though under the double risk of being disavowed by Congress and by France which secretly employed him as one who may and France knows could be of the greatest service to the Americans because of his knowledge of war and politics.

The most dangerous enemies were the false brethren who are unhappily found in all the States in too great numbers, whose only aim and occupation is to discourage the people by deluding them. This enemy must be eradicated without delay by severest laws and striking examples, though not in great numbers.

Though the French Court had given the strictest recommendations and orders to all to whom its authority extended to procure him every means and conveniency to this continent—yet these orders could not be kept secret here but had been published and Frenchmen regarded him in a superior rank to those in places where he was seen. In spite of all this he had been exposed and accused of being a declared enemy to the United States. Some had been so infamous as to charge him with being a British spy, so that all he did to render himself useful to the States has poisoned to his disadvantage and strengthened the suspicions against him. He did not conceal the sensibility and pain he felt at this attempt at his honor for which he could obtain speedy satisfaction by the power which employed him. He considered, however, that he was now stopped in his endeavors for the good of the country. He sought an answer from Congress as without it he, his servants and baggage would be exposed on the road to Philadelphia. He now saw things in "a pretty clear light" and foresaw what the enemy would attempt the next campaign. He had informed the French Court of it and if it determined to support it as he had mentioned, all would be ready here to concur in that system.

The letter to the French Court he had sent by a schooner bound for St. Pierre—concealed—even in the master's breeches if necessary in case he should be taken. Another letter in cypher directed to Count d'Ennery, General of Hispaniola mentioned the same projects and ideas as the first letter.

The letter sent to Congress by Mr. Walker gave a recital of the

affair which detained him five years in England, and of his incontestable right to the Lordships of Dalainville and D'hocquart at the head of Lake Champlain extending to the lower end of New Lake George, to the west of the river which joins that Lake to Lake Champlain.

The lordship of D'hocquart is situated on the east side of that river and begins two miles above Crown Point and extends near to the entrance of Au Loutres.

Each of these lordships has four leagues in front from north to south, on five leagues depth; the first to the west and the second to the east. He would give fuller information when he saw the President, besides that given in the Memorial by which he expected to obtain justice from Congress as the memorial had also been presented to the King, his Minister, the members of Parliament and almost all the foreign ministers in London and to the principal persons in France. By that it would be seen how he had treated the British Minister and principal persons of the British Court whose spy they have now dared to call him. Unfortunately there are some, and too many, who render the British more service than any stranger could, however inclined.

The letter the Marquis sent by Mr. Walker, dated Boston, November 20, 1776, to his son, told him that it was too late to yield to the Spirit of enthusiasm by which he had been led by the persuasion of Longeuil and Bel-Etre. He had done no honor to his judgment in taking their advice in preference to that of his father. Proper reflection would have made him prefer his father. Had his conduct been regulated by the letters he had sent from London he would have avoided many losses and sorrows as well as others who had followed the same course, would not now be exposed to the reproaches of his mother country in which his ancestors made a figure against which for sometime he had appeared in army, though he could not be ignorant of the interest France took in the success of the cause against which he was persuaded to fight. It occasioned the greatest surprise in France when they were informed that the Canadian noblesse had joined the Royalists in such a cause, particularly after the treatment which they had received, without the least occasion given which tended to no less than to reduce them to a lower state than their vassals and which they would have accomplished if they had had a sufficient time to execute their schemes. He closed by saying, "all letters from France give me the title of Marquis. You will run no risk in conforming to it."—[*Am. Archives, Vol.* 3, *page* 1414-5th *Series.*]

No further record of the Marquis has been found.

FATHER PETER HUET DE LA VALINIERE, THE "FIERY, FACTIOUS AND TURBULENT 'REBEL'" CANADIAN PRIEST, "THE MOST CULPABLE AND THE LEAST CONVERTED" OF THE PRIESTS FAVORING THE AMERICANS; SENT TO ENGLAND BY GENERAL HALDIMAND, THE GOVERNOR OF CANADA: HIS WANDERINGS. HIS TROUBLE WHILE VICAR GENERAL AT THE ILLINOIS.

General Fred. Haldimand, Governor of Canada, during the American Revolution, writing to Lord North from Quebec, June 19, 1783, said: "The Jesuits are the only order of regular priests who have shown an attachment to the rebels during the course of the war." [Canadian vs. Haldimand Papers, B. 56, p. 75].

Of Catholic American Revolutionary historical interest is the recital of the career of a Priest of another Order—the Sulpicians—and of his trials for being suspected of aiding the American cause by association with the "Rebels" and being favored by them. Because of this and, perhaps, by reason also of his eccentricities and instability of mind, he became a wanderer, the first American tramping priest, covering the country from Canada to New Orleans.

This was the REVEREND PIERRE HUET DE LA VALINIERE, the "perfect rebel in his heart," as General Haldimand declared him to be to Lord George Germain, when he deported the Priest to England. Henry De Courcy, a French journalist, whose letters in 1855-6, to the *Ami de Religion* and other French periodicals, were translated by Dr. John Gilmary Shea, and, on May 3, 1856, published under the title of *The Catholic Church in the United States: A Sketch of its Ecclesiastical History*, in a brief relation of the career of Father de la Valiniere says: "This original character deserves to be better known in America, for it was in consequence of his sympathy for the United States that the Abbe de la Valiniere was subjected to numberless trials during the last thirty years of his life."

Our work now is to do this—to make him "better known" by a recital from original sources of some of these "trials."

Born January 10, 1732, at Varade, France, Pierre Huet de la Valiniere studied at the College of Nantes and entered the Grand Seminary of that city November 22, 1752. After having been or-

dained sub-deacon he went to Paris, where he entered the Seminary of Saint Sulpice and became a member of that Congregation.

Being endowed with great zeal and untiring energy he thought his vocation was for far-off missions, and leaving France April 13, 1754, he reached Montreal on the 9th of the following September. He was then ordained priest, June 15, 1755, by Bishop Pontbriand, and busied himself with the different works of which the Seminary had charge, both in the city and its neighborhood.

It was during that time (1758) that he succeeded in rescuing from the hands of the Indians, a little English girl named O'Flaherty, at the very moment when these barbarians were about to make her perish by fire. "They had already tied her to the stake with Mrs. O'Flaherty, her mother, and were preparing to burn them both, when that ecclesiastic, by his prayers, his entreaties and promises, succeeded in delivering them from death."[1] This child, whom Madam d'Youville received under her roof, devoted herself to her benefactress and became a Sister of Charity. Later, the priest composed, at the request of the saintly founders of the Sisters of Charity of Montreal, a Litany to the Eternal Father, which has been recited daily in the community since April 4, 1774.

He was appointed successively to the following parishes: Riviere-des-Prairies, May 22, 1759; St. Henri de Mascouche, November 2, 1766 to January 3, 1769; St. Sulpice, January 30, 1769 to October 4, 1773; L'Assomption, November 11, 1774 to February 1, 1777, and St. Anne, September, 1778, to October 9, 1779. He likewise attended Lavaltrie October 18, 1768 to November 18, 1770, while in charge of one or another of the above-named parishes. His restless and changeful nature prevented him from remaining long anywhere,—he was certainly one of the greatest travelers of his day.

When he took possession of the *Cure* of l'Assomption, Abbe de la Valiniere seems to have foreseen the bitterness that was in store for him, for he writes to the Bishop as follows:

"At the beginning of an undertaking so formidable as that which has been imposed on me, I resign myself to my fate, because the Lord has answered me by the voice of my Superiors: *ad omnia ad quae mittam, dicit Dominus ibis.*" And, in truth, he was not happy there, for, perhaps through his own fault, he was compromised and accused

1 Quoted from the Life of the Venerable Mother d'Youville by Madame Jette, wife of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec.

on the occasion of the invasion of Canada by the Americans in 1775. According to his autobiography (which is preserved in the Seminary of Montreal), he has nothing wherewith to reproach himself in all this affair. He attended to his parish of L'Assomption, and busied himself only in praying to God and in preaching fidelity to the King, carrying his devotedness so far as to send to the army one of his servants and to render the Canadian officers every possible service. Having learned that the Abbes Robert and St. Germain were prisoners of the Bostoners, he went to Sorel at the peril of his life, says he, to rescue his two *confreres* and forced the general of the invading army to deliver Mr. Robert into his hands. To attain this desirable end, he had secured the services of one Durocher, a friend to Thomas Walker, a Montreal merchant, who lived at L'Assomption, and who had succeeded in inducing a certain number of inhabitants of his and the neighboring parishes to rebel.

However, notwithstanding M. de la Valiniere's protestations of innocence, he was believed neither by General Carleton, nor by his Superior, M. Montgolfier, nor by his Bishop, Monseigneur Briand. He was reputed to have favored the rebels.

LETTER FROM VICAR GENERAL MONTGOLFIER TO BISHOP BRIAND.

On August 12, 1776, Monseigneur Montgolfier wrote to Bishop Briand:

"Since the departure of the rebels, we have lived in this district in great tranquillity under the protection of an equitable government: probity is respected and virtue protected. All the parishes, perhaps without any exception, either through fear or for duty's sake, seem manifestly enough to me to have returned to reason; at least regarding the greater number of their inhabitants. The pastors (*cures*), conformably to Your Lordship's intentions, admit to the Sacraments only such as having appeared rebellious or indifferent, acknowledge their fault and retract it publicly by their behaviour and in all their words, being disposed to make all amends that may be judged proper and I think there are few that refuse to comply with such conditions.

"As to the clergy, they persevere in the best dispositions regarding submission to legitimate authority; those who heretofore seemed to have deserved some blame are ashamed even to be suspected, and seek for testimony to prove that they have been constantly attached to the government. Does not such conduct imply a retraction and a

sufficient reparation of what may have indicated a certain weakness in their past behaviour? Acting on that principle I have until now maintained a profound silence regarding the three missionaries of Sault Ste. Louis, of Longueuil and of L'Assomption.[1] Nevertheless, I have had the honor of unburdening my heart to General Carleton regarding the last named whom I reckon among the most guilty and the least converted. His excellency gave me liberty to deal with him as I may judge fit. The dearth of priests forces me to employ him, though reluctantly. Should Your Lordship judge proper to withdraw him, and if means could be found of providing for the essential needs of that large parish, I would see therein no difficulty. But, in that case, I would desire that subject to be removed from the country. He is thoroughly self-willed, and, although of good morals, he would infallibly cause us some other trouble....."—*Dated August* 12, 1776.

On the fifth of September following, the Abbe de la Valiniere writes to Monseigneur Briand to complain of M. Montgolfier, who, says he, "has served him, after dinner, a dish as disagreeable to nature as it was beneficial to the spirit." His Superior rebuked him for not having consulted him, for having followed his own mind, for having favored the Bostoners. He must have had some connection with them to have so boldly gone to meet them at Sorel.

On the second of October M. Montgolfier writes to the Bishop: "M. de la Valiniere is keeping quiet for the present and I think he is checkmated. I have seen him only once since the extravagant steps he has taken of his own accord, and in which I know nobody that has shared. I have clearly notified him that I no more looked upon him as a member of our house, that I left him to his entire liberty and that I had no more advice to give him, save that I always thought he would do better to return to France, and that I would provide him with every facility for so doing. And it appears to me that he thinks no more of it. And if Your Lordship does not ordain otherwise, as far as I am concerned all will be over, and, considering the dearth of priests, I will leave him in his parish."

Everything appeared to be settled; but General Carleton intervenes, as is proven by the following letter of M. de Montgolfier to the Bishop of Quebec:

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1 The Jesuit Joseph Huguet, the Recollect Claude Carpenter and Monsieur de la Valiniere.

"I had almost forgotten M. de la Valiniere, and in speaking of Father Huguet's[1] affair, His Excellency showed me that it would be expedient and even necessary to withdraw that missionary from l'Assomption, and, should it be thought fit to employ him elsewhere, at least to transfer him to another parish, and to remove him from this district, where he is too well known..... I hope Your Lordship will have the goodness to regulate his condition when the time has come."

Bishop Briand ordered the Abbé to Quebec, and while giving him permission to confound his calumniators, if he were able, he signified to him his departure from l'Assomption, and offered him to choose for himself among three situations, viz.: either remain definitely at the Montreal Seminary, or stay there until navigation was opened and then leave for Europe, or finally, accept some ministry in the district of Quebec. The prelate added: "His Excellency is informed of my action, the matter is settled."

M. de la Valiniere was therefore obliged to comply and to leave l'Assomption for Saint-Roch-des-Aulnaies in February, 1777. His successor was Monsieur Petrimoult, who wrote to M. Montgolfier to render an account of the state of mind of the inhabitants and of the manner in which he had been received. The Superior of Saint-Sulpice was not without anxiety; he feared that two hundred inhabitants sympathetic to the Bostoners might manifest in favor of M. de la Valiniere and against his successor. Nothing of the kind happened. "My taking possession, says M. Petrimoult, was as peaceful as might be desired, at least up to this moment. I have neither seen nor heard any sign of discontent."

The year that preceded M. de la Valiniere's arrival at St. Roch des Aulnaies, the Abbe Bailly de Messein,[2] Chaplain to the Royalist troops, had succeeded with M. de Beaujeu in enlisting fifty militia men from Kamouraska, four from Riviere-Orelle, twenty-seven from St. Anne and *twenty-five from St. Roch*, de la Valiniere's parish.

An engagement took place at St. Pierre (now in the county of Montinaguy), and the Royalists were beaten by the rebels who had with them 150 Bostoners. Three men were killed, ten wounded and a greater number taken prisoners.

This engagement threw consternation in the surrounding parishes.

1 A Jesuit missionary at Sault Ste. Louis.
2 Who was later appointed Coadjutor to the Bishop of Quebec.

The families that had lost a member bitterly reproached the priests for having caused the departure of their sons for the army. M. de la Valiniere, who had arrived after the enlistment, merited none of these reproaches.

Writing to Bishop Briand, May 9, 1777, he informs him that he has given praise to those of his parishioners whose children had been wounded or who were still prisoners with the Bostoners for the service of the King. He even intends to preach often to inculcate the obedience they owe the King.

He complains of the dilapidated state of the Church, presbytery and surroundings, and particularly of his own penury.

To this latter complaint the Bishop turns a deaf ear, knowing as he did that de la Valiniere's pecuniary condition was far from distressing.

De la Valiniere managed to quarrel with a neighboring parish, St. Jean Port-Joly, and in the difficulties that ensued, he threatened to sue the Bishop and the Seminary of Montreal for a reparation of his honor, of his goods and of his health, of which he had been despoiled. After receiving from the Bishop a letter full of kindness and good sense, his humor improved. In 1778 he asks the Bishop to be transferred to the adjacent parish, and his request is granted. At St. Anne de la Pocatiere, his new post, new difficulties beset him and he spends only one year there.

In his autobiography de la Valiniere attributes to Bishop Briand the following eulogy of his unworthy self: "He (de la Valiniere) is the priest of my diocese who knows best how to gain general affection. In every place, his zeal and wisdom have won for him the esteem of all. He possesses the gift of enriching the church-treasury; he preaches well, and he deserves no reproach. His talent is almost unique; he distributes abundant alms and yet he is ever ready to give." According to the same document, M. Smith, who was Seigneur of St. Anne, was ready to give 40,000 livres as bail to prevent his departure. He had made the proposal to Governor Haldimand, who had laid the fault on the prelate and on M. Grave, the Vicar General.

Haldimand's letter (original in archives of Archbishopric, Quebec) shows how false is the last accusation.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR SIR FREDERICK HALDIMAND TO BISHOP BRIAND.

Monseigneur:

"You will be so kind as to order Monsieur de la Valiniere, *cure* of the parish of St. Anne on the South Shore,[1] to proceed without delay to this city with all his baggage, and to take his lodging, during his stay here, at the Seminary or with the Jesuit Fathers, according as you may judge proper.

"I leave it to you to inform him, if you think fit, that he must sail for Europe with the fleet that leaves the 25th of this month, and care will be taken to provide him with refreshments and all possible commodities for the voyage. You will be careful to recommend him particularly not to give way to his usual fits of vivacity and to be attentive as to his manner of acting and speaking until his departure.

"Monsieur de la Valiniere may give his letter of attorney to the person he may judge proper, provided such person be one with whom the government has reason to be satisfied, to attend to the interests he may leave in this Province.

"I have no doubt that the clergy, recognizing the bounties of his Britannic Majesty, their Sovereign, towards them and towards the people whose souls are in their keeping, will induce the latter to give proofs of fidelity, of zeal and reverence, which they owe him in every respect, and for all sorts of reasons.

"I have the honor to be with great esteem and consideration.

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant

FRED HALDIMAND.

Quebec, this 14th October, 1779.

To His Lordship, the Bishop of Quebec.

But "removing" him from one place to another seems not to have led to the submission of this suspected supporter of the Americans. So that in October, 1779, General Haldimand ordered his arrest and deportation to England, as the annexed document sets forth:

GENERAL HALDIMAND DEPORTS VALINIERE.

Lord George Germaine. QUEBEC, October 24, 1779.

My Lord:

Having already the honor of informing your Lordship in my Letter

1 It now bears the name of Ste. Anne de la Pocatiere. It was then called *Sainte Anne du Sud*, in order to distinguish it from the older parish of St. Anne, the celebrated pilgrimage then called *Sainte Anne du Nord*.

No. 28, of my intending to send Home M. "De La Valliniere," Cure of one of the parishes below the Town, upon the south side of the river, I have accordingly delivered him over to Captain Hervey, commanding the Convoy, that is to sail from hence the 25th instant, desiring at the same time, he may not be allowed to leave the ship until Government gives some instructions, how he is to be disposed of.

This gentleman is a native of France, and was, till some time in the year 1776, a member of the Seminary of Montreal, under whose patronage he enjoyed one of the best cures in the Province near that Town. The gentlemen of the Seminary were extremely offended with his behaviour during that whole winter, when he proved himself a perfect rebel in his Heart. On their complaint the Bishop removed him from his cure to one of less value, in the lower part of the Province, he has since quarrelled with the Bishop, and was once disposed, as I am informed, to sue him in our Courts.

Fiery, factious and turbulent, no ways deficient in point of wit and parts, he was too dangerous at this present crisis to be allowed to remain here, and accordingly taking advantage of his disagreements with the Seminary of Montreal, and with the Bishop, he is now with consent of the latter sent home, as it rather appears that the blow proceed from his ecclesiastical Superiors, any noise or disturbance about it here is avoided, and at the same time may oblige the Clergy, especially the French part of them, to be careful and circumspect; the French alliance with the Colonies in Rebellion has certainly operated a great change upon their minds, and it too generally runs through the whole body of Canadians. However disagreeable it may be, it is improper he should be permitted to return to his native country. I think he must either be confined, though well treated or sent prisoner at large to a remote part where some inspection may be had over his conduct, in short, there cannot be a doubt that while these troubles last, he will seek every opportunity of serving France, & of being of Dis-service to the British interests. I have honour to be &c.&.

(signed) FRED HALDIMAND.

[*Canadian Archives Haldimand Papers B.* 54, *Page* 225.]

At the time of his departure from Quebec, de la Valiniere was under universal condemnation. Religion and civil authorities, as well as his own Superior of Saint Sulpice, were unanimous against him. It would be hard to prove his innocence.

The exile met with no better fortune at sea than on land. He complains that after having received the most evident marks of friendship, he was deceived and robbed of all his money. On his arrival at Spithead, he would have liked to sue his despoilers in order to recover his money, but having no papers, he was unable to do so, and to crown his misfortune, he was kept for twelve months a prisoner on board ship.

While at Spithead he wrote Lord Germain:

APPEAL OF FATHER VALINIERE TO LORD GERMAIN.

FROM SPITHEAD, ON BOARD THE CONVOY, Dec. 14, 1779.

My Lord:

I beg you not to be angry with your servant. I know that you are so much occupied as to leave you no time to recall to your memory a poor little subject like myself; yet I am still detained on board awaiting your orders, and I have not yet been on shore, which is rather bad on a person of my age, especially as I have been very ill with sea sickness. I entreat you then to allow me at least to buy a sloop and depart with two men without setting foot on land. If this is not agreeable in time of war—for you see I take liberty of reasoning with you and say, either your servant is guilty or only under suspicion, or even innocent; if the first, he asks for trial and punishment if he deserves it; if the second, your self-interest accords with this request; if, finally, it is the third, why retain as a prisoner him who does not deserve to be so treated. I beg you to honor with a reply and a passport, if it be possible, him who has the honor to be

Your most Humble and Obedient Servant

P. HUET LA DE VALINIERE, Priest.

Passport, if you please, for at least two of these four with me: Jas. LeGros, John Constance, Clement Coret. Thomas Gaurier.

[*Canadian Archives Series* 2, *Vol.* 16-1, *p* 319.]

ALLEGED DEATH OF FATHER DE LA VALINIERE.

LORD HERVEY TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

My Lord:

On my return from Portsmouth, I found a letter desiring information concerning Monsieur Valiniere, the Canadian Prisoner sent home by His Excellency, General Haldimand, with me.

I beg leave to inform your Lordship, that he caught a bad fever when on board the Lenox at Cork. He was sent to the Hospital, on

his arrival at Portsmouth, where he died soon after.

I have the Honor to be your Lordship's
Humble and obedient Servant,
HERVEY.

St. James' Square,
Thursday Morning.
Endorsed "No Date
Received 17th March 1780."

[*Canadian Archives, Series Q. Vol-* 17-1, *p.* 80.]

This information was not correct, for Father Valiniere, the "fiery, factious and turbulent," was "not dead yet," but lived for more than quarter of a century after his alleged death at Cork.

NO OVERT ACT.

Now the "Rebel" Priest had been brought to England what to immediately do with him was a matter of conjecture by the authorities in the absence of a direct charge against him. The annexed document shows that the Priest was so guiltless of any legal offence that his arrest is declared "ill advised" and his custodian may do as he pleases with him.

RT. JACKSON TO (UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE?)
22d December, 1779.

Dear Sir:

I cannot see any ground for detaining de la Valiniere, unless it be under the authority of the Act *for securing Persons charged with or suspected of High Treason committed in the Colonies.*

I cannot advise Ld. Geo. Germain to commit him under that Act, unless some charge, or some cause of suspicion of High Treason be first distinctly alleged by somebody, however expedient it may be to confine the man. Perhaps Capt. Harvey or some on board his fleet may furnish such cause of suspicion, but I confess the Governor's letter does not to me impart suspicion of Treason committed, though perhaps a very liberal expounder might construe *the Behaviour by which he proved himself a perfect Rebel in his Heart* to an act overt of Treason.

I know not what the practice under the Act has been, and will make some inquiry and will then trouble you with another Letter, but my present opinion is that it will be best for the Secretary of

State to take no notice of la Valiniere, but leave the Capt, to do what his discretion directs him to do.

The Governor seems to have been ill advised.

Dear Sir, Yours Sincerely,
ROBERT JACKSON.

[*Canadian Archives. Series, Q., Vol.* 16-2, *p.* 715.]

Finally, to get rid of him, they forged a document, in which they made him state that having been captured on a French Merchant Vessel he was not to be considered as a prisoner of war. He was allowed to reach France at his own expense. He thereupon embarked on French vessel the St. Antoine, which was wrecked off the coast of France and all that remained of the poor missionary's fortune went to the bottom. He was forced to travel on foot to Paris, by the way of Ostende.

Although the reputation which had preceded him deterred his brother Sulpicians from receiving him very cordially, nevertheless, they lodged and boarded him at Nantes in a house (St. Clement) destined for the invalids of their congregation.

While resting there, he recovered his health, collected the debris of a small inheritance and prepared to begin again his missionary life.

In 1782, while there he addressed the following memorial to the Secretary of the Marine Department of France:

MEMORIAL TO THE FRENCH MARINE DEPARTMENT.

"To His Excellency, Monsieur de Castries, Secretary of State at the Marine Department."

"Your Excellency will please excuse an old missionary of Canada, who, having returned to France since nine months, has been obliged to observe a silence for which he ceases not to reproach himself as liable to cause prejudice to the State. Here is the fact:

"A sojourn of twenty-six years in Canada, especially at the most critical period, under the domination of France as well as of England, has necessarily imparted some knowledge to a man successively entrusted with an Indian mission and with ten or eleven parishes at the two opposite extremities of the said country. The desire of making himself useful to God and to the King induced him to learn English, under the government of the Marquis de Vandreuil, to whom he rendered gratuitously the service of acting as interpreter towards General Abercromby. But the general esteem in which he was held having confided to his care several parishes whose districts, although

regulated by the court, seemed to place no obstacle in the way of the Bishop, who would displace them without necessity, our missionary thought it his duty to oppose such designs and by means of the law, he obliged the said prelate to renounce his undertaking. But alas! how sad it is for a priest, so far from home and under English domination, to defend his right against a Bishop of their naming and according to their taste.

"It happened then that in 1776, the insurgents called in Canada the Bostoners (*Bostonnais*,) having taken the country and besieged Quebec, during the whole winter, judged proper to detain two priests as prisoners at Sorel; whereupon, our missionary, being alone able to express himself in English, thought fit to use some endeavors to deliver them; he therefore, went to Sorel and had the good fortune of rescuing at least one of them whom he brought with him. But his request was not long in becoming suspicious to the English government, which, after three years of extreme persecution, made him leave suddenly the 25th of October, 1779, and sent him to Portsmouth, with interdiction to land him without the consent of the ministry. He therefore, remained there during seven and a half months, on board ship, without having the two-thirds of a soldier's rations, and again later twenty days a prisoner, contrary to the right of nations, at Alesford, whence, by means of a passport, he came as best he could by Ostend. But to crown his misfortune, having placed all that was left him in a box on board the vessel to be brought to Nantes, the ship was wrecked. As for himself, having traveled by land to Paris, he took on his arrival the liberty of requesting in writing an audience of M. de Sartine, who, no doubt, had no time to honor me with a word of answer.

"Since that time, that missionary has never ceased to reproach himself with his want of action; having especially heard of the departure of Count de Grasse to whom he might have been of some usefulness, he cannot refrain from offering the services and the experience of a man who will soon reach his fiftieth year, begging of Your Excellency to honor with a word of answer him who already takes the liberty of calling himself

Your most Humble and Obedient servant,

P. HUET DE LA VALINIERE, Priest.

The Canadian Archives Supplementary Report for 1899, p. 199, has the following summary of the above recited documents which it

states is in the Archives of the Ministere des Colonies in the Louvre; our transcript is from the Quebec Archiepiscopal Archives.

1782—Letter from Pere Huet de la Valiniere, a Priest, to M. de Castres, Secretary of State (a remarkable letter, artless and mysterious). Returned from Canada nine months since, after a period of twenty-six years. Offers his services. Applied for an audience to M. De Sartines, but received no answer. Relates his history and that of a priest taken prisoner by the Bostonnais at Sorel, in 1776, and released at his, the writer's, solicitation; kept in captivity by the English during three years; sent to England; detained upon the vessel for seven months; a prisoner for twenty days at Alrefford, &c., &c.

De Courcy-Shea's *History of the Church*, Edition 1856, p. 461, says: "Soon dissatisfied with his family, and meeting in consequence of his eccentricity, a rather cool reception from the Sulpicians at Paris, he resolved to return to Canada and set sail for Martinique."

WANDERINGS OF VALINIERE.

Is it not more probable, however, that the Minister of Marine Department gave him the service applied for on one of the vessels going to the West Indies, the cruising ground of the French marine forces? That it was thus he reached Martinique and later San Domingo, where he was attacked by the yellow fever and on his recovery "took passage on a small craft, for Newburyport, Massachusetts, where he arrived early in the Spring of 1785. From thence traveled on foot by way of Vermont and Lake Champlain to Montreal, where he arrived in June, 1785."

As he distrusted his Montreal friends, he planned going first to Martinique, San Domingo, or the United States, before reaching Canada, which was the final object of his voyage. As a fact, he landed at Newburyport in 1785, reached Vermont, Lake Champlain and was soon back to Montreal.

The first authentic news of his arrival is given in the following letter addressed by Bishop Desglis to Monsieur Gravé, the Vicar General, dated July 25, 1785:

"I enclose herewith an interesting document of M. Huet de la Valiniere:

"What shall we do, my dear Vicar General, with this poor man? How well he bears out the portrait given by M. Montgolfier in his

letter to His Honor the Lieutenant Governor; restless, turbulent, etc.!

"He asks me for a certificate of good standing and behaviour so as to go wherever the Lord calls him. Can I give him one as long as he will hold a conduct so much opposed to my orders? I have forbidden him, as you are aware, to say Mass publicly until he has made arrangements with the government, and he has nevertheless officiated without having complied, for I don't see by all his verbiage how he can prove that His Honor, M. Hamilton, allows him to remain in this province. God grant that for the honor of the clergy he be not decided to allow him to stay! I even desire that you endeavor to make him know that I would be very glad if he did not suffer him in this country....."

Evidently de la Valiniere was not very warmly welcomed by Bishop Briand's successor. On his part, M. Montgolfier is at a loss to get rid of him once more and for good, for M. de la Valiniere is determined to remain at the Seminary in spite of everybody. In vain do they offer him, for peace sake, a pension of six hundred livres, Tounois currency, payable yearly in Paris. The deed is drawn up, signed by the Sulpicians, but at the last moment, the Abbè changes his mind and refuses to sign. After this he seeks the hospitality of a Confrere, M. Curateau, and later lodges with the Recollect Fathers. He applies to English lawyers, among others to M. Christie, to institute proceedings against the Sulpicians. But the lawyers will not plead without the permission of the Seminary priests.

Then, after several trips to Quebec, to St. John, to I'Isle-aux-noix, he, in August, 1785, leaves for the United States, with a "favorable letter" from the Bishop to Rev. John Carroll. He traveled as far as Philadelphia, where he meets Father Carroll, the future Bishop of Baltimore, who received him kindly, but could not grant him faculties nor confide to his care the Canadian, Arcadian and French group settled in New York and its vicinity, as he "had no power to do it."

IN NEW YORK.

While in New York he sent a petition to Congress then sitting in that City, stating his "losses and sufferings." That Petition is not now among the papers of the Continental Congress, but its purport can be known by the following document:

Office of Secretary of Congress.

October 15, 1785.

So with all the good people here, I will offer willingly my vows, and sacrifices for the blessing of the united States forever, being with the utmost respects

Sir, of you and the hon.d Congress.

Kaskakias Aug.t 25
1787.

The most humble and respectfull servant
Peter Hues dela Valiniere Minister of
the gospel, Priest and general Vicar.

de la Valiniere
25 aug.t 1787.

Do me humbly beseech also the honorable Congress to grant me the interest of my note written on the Register's office januar 24. 1786. the principal that is due to me is one thousand seven hundred dollars, bearing interest at six per cent from the 10. [illegible] 1782. For I am Dela Valiniet a priest

I forgot the most horrid payment occasioned by John Dodge, the 14 june 1784 to a trader named Daniel Murray to whom John Dodge was indebted instead of paying him his due, he quarrelled him, and said to his associate in trade and friend Mr Blomberun who was there justice or lieut.t of county, saying. That man will kill give order to take him prisoner. with order being granted. John Dodge with the Capt.n la chance and a party of men brocke the door where Daniel Murray was dwelling and threatning them to shot his gun if any body would enter the door, which he did without wounding any body. but the Capt.n ordered to now the arm of Daniel Murray has been broken, with caused his death and so has been paid the debt of John Dodge.

Some among the Dodge's friends are here in the same case.

On the petition of Peter Huet de la Valiniere, priest, chosen to be a general Vicar for New Skotland, which he has refused, stating his losses and sufferings, and offering his services and praying for an answer, 1. concerning some succour, 2. concerning the recovery of his baggage which he left last Spring at Newbury, and 3. concerning his being employed at Ilinois or some other place.

The Secretary of Congress reports

That the said petition be referred to the board of treasury to report.

Agreed to, Sept. 17 1785.

R. H. Sec. P.

[*No.* 180, *p.*9, *Reports of Secretary of Congress. In State Department in* 1901.]

In the Fall of 1785, he was at Newburg, New York, and doubtless also at Fishkill, where a number of Canadian refugees were located and to whom he ministered by special faculties given by Father Carroll.

In December, if not earlier, he was in New York City preaching to the French, whom he assembled in his house. About Christmas he wrote Father Farmer, of Philadelphia, a letter, the purport of which we get to know by the letter of the latter to Rev. John Carroll, dated December 27, 1785, transmitting Father Valiniere's communication, saying: "It contained matters that must be laid before your reverence. It is from La Valiniere, laying down his reasons for staying in New York; for collecting the Canadians and French for the purposes of divine service, and asking for faculties. That gentleman was again, in a late letter, recommended as a zealous missionary by Fr. Wells (of Quebec), and I doubt not that his staying among those forlorn people, and preaching to them may revive their decayed devotion. For I have seen some instances of it two years ago in my own poor endeavors, when staying five days in Fishkill. My answer to him was, that till your pleasure be known, he might exercise at New York, with respect to the Canadians and French only, those faculties your reverence had given him. La Valiniere writeth of their (Fathers Whelan and McReady) expecting exhorbitant fees, even before the service. Another motive of allowing him to exercise at New York the faculties you gave him, was mentioned by himself, and it is that formerly in Canada he had been the ordinary pastor of those voluntary exiles, and may we not add to these motives, that he was our fellow missionary in America and that he comes with

approbation from a neighboring Bishoprick.—[*Campbell's Carroll. U. S. C. Mag. March*, 1847].

Nevertheless, Father Carroll did not give him faculties as we learn from his letter from Rocky Creek, Md. January 25, 1786, to the Trustees of St. Peter's Church, New York City, wherein he says: "He lamented his hands being still tied. I was prevented from giving full employment to M. Nugent's zeal and I must add for M. La Valiniere's credit, that when I declined granting him leave to administer the Sacraments to the Canadian refugees, it was for the reason, because I had no power to do it. Otherwise, I have such a conviction of his many qualities that I should gladly have indulged the wishes of those good people who solicited and of this I beg to inform him."—[*MSS. copy.* Georgetown University].

Otto, the French Consul at New York, writing to Comte Vergennes, the Minister of France at Paris, on January 29, 1786, said:

ASSEMBLES THE FRENCH

"M. de la Valiniére assembles the French who are in his house. He preaches regularly to them every Sunday and he assures me he is persuaded that if there were a French Church here, it would, without doubt, attract a great number of his countrymen." [*Bancroft's Formation of the Constitution. p.* 77].

On January 26, 1786, Father Farmer, of Philadelphia, wrote Rev. John Carroll, "From, or of M. De la Valiniére, I heard nothing since I wrote to him, as I sometime ago mentioned to you."

On February 25, 1786, Father Farmer wrote that he had transmitted to La Valiniére, who was still in that city, "powers to perform *parochialia*, without restrictions to the French," and this gentleman had informed him of the state of affairs, as he had been requested to do; "that scandals had ceased and all was quiet there."

In a letter of March 30, he mentions the intention of M. De la Valiniere, to leave New York for the Illinois. With the labors of his ministry he found time to compose a catechism in both French and English, and formed numerous projects for the erection of churches and seminaries in the principal cities. Having failed to obtain, through the influence of the French Ambassador (M. Barbe Marbois), permission to buy an old Protestant church in New York City, which he intended to use for the Catholics, he felt discouraged and asked Bishop Car-

roll's leave to travel West. He was allowed to do so and was even invested with the faculties of a Vicar General.

GOING TO THE ILLINOIS.

Rev. Ferdinand Farmer, of Philadelphia, on April 12, 1786, wrote Rev. John Carroll, Superior: "La Valiniere, who thinks to leave New York on Monday after Quasimodo, is composing a Catechism in English and French which my correspondent is afeard not to be sufficient concerning the English language and also perhaps to serve upon those of our communion he wisheth we might see it before it is put to press, but the time is too short. The gentleman's trunks for his journey to the Illinois are already here."

The Catechism referred to was titled:

DIALOGUE CURIEUX ET INTERESSANT ENTRE MR. BONDESIR ET LE DR. BREVILOG, EN FRANCAIS ET EN ANGLAIS."

Dr. Shea says, (*History of the Church, p.* 431, *note*) "in which the printer strangely Protestantized his English." It is probable, however, that printer "followed copy," as Father Farmer's New York correspondent declared La Valiniere "was not sufficient in the English." Father La Valiniere describes himself in the title as "having suffered great persecution for the cause of America in the last war and having been obliged to take refuge in the United States."

No copy of this catechism is in the State Library at Albany, nor in the New York Historical Society, nor in the Lenox Library of New York.

"He came to Philadelphia and, making a brief rest at Old St. Joseph's with Fathers Farmer and Molyneux, he 'made his way as a pedestrian to Pittsburg and descending the Ohio in a batteau,' journeyed on to Kaskaskia, where he became in 1786, Pastor and Vicar General. The register of that Old Church yet exists with his signature as "Pretre, Vic. Gen. Miss. de la St. Famille."—[*U. S. C. H. Mag.* XIII, *p.* 43.]

He had no sooner reached his destination than he began to wage war against Father St. Pierre, a discalced Carmelite, who had served as Chaplain in Rochambeau's Army, and of whom l'Abbé J. H. Laval, quoted by John Gilmary Shea, says that he was certainly one of the most remarkable priests who had administered the parish of St. Gabriel (in Louisiana).

The relation of his doings as Vicar General of Illinois may be read in THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL RESEARCHES for July, 1906.

FATHER LOTBINIERE APPEALS TO GENERAL SULLIVAN TO ADVOCATE HIS CAUSE BEFORE CONGRESS.

[Translation.]

General:

I have been an eye witness of the courage and prudence which your Excellency showed at Chambly and Sorel. You were the same in all places where you fought and your courage and prudence rightly gained for you the applause and esteem of all who fought under your orders. Your gallantry made me often wish to see your Excellency at the head of the army, after the death of the valiant Montgomery. But Congress sent (the Respectable) Woorster, who was too old to succeed in that capacity. Had your Excellency been sent, all Canada would have united to the United States, and the Canadian people who hate the English and ardently wish to throw off the Englsh yoke would have held the country against England and all the armies she might have sent. As for me I would now enjoy in peace my income which amounted to 450 pounds sterling and would have kept the honorable position I held, instead of being adrift in a foreign country, always on the verge of starvation as my salary has not been paid.

I have some reason to believe that General Arnold and other officers of high rank have told your Excellency of my former prosperous and honorable position; that after the bishop, I was the foremost priest in the country by birth, position and income. When I took sides with the United States they bore witness of all those facts when they reached Congress, but the majority of the members of that honorable assemply have not seen those facts, they formed an opinion without considering them and they looked down upon me as a poverty-stricken priest, who for a living, joined the army as chaplain. Therefore, they paid no attention and gave me no consideration and last year I received only 240 dollars a month. Besides I was paid only every four months. I have been on the very point of dying on the streets of hunger and exposure as I have had to sell my linens and part of my clothes to keep myself alive. Finally I resolved to declare 1° my poverty to Congress, 2° the impossibility of borrowing or of getting anything from my country, all communications between Canada and this country being cut off. I added that the bishop, the clergy and the nobility, although they were vexed at my action, would take the opportunity to show that one cannot rely on the Americans. They would say: Lotbiniere had an honorable position and a good in-

come; he has left everything against our wishes, to side with them; as a reward they left him to die of hunger and exposure in the streets of Philadelphia.

This petition was presented and Congress ordered that, money having depreciated in value, I should be paid 965 doll. and 5 shill. in gold. Furthermore, I was to receive 40 dollars in gold per month. This order was taken to the office of the Treasury and the commissaries of that office gave me a warrant for 965 doll. and 5 shill. in bill emitted. Said warrant has been in my hands since the 2nd of September last and has not been paid. I received only 20,000 continental dollars in two payments, which make 266 doll. bill emitted, and 5 shillings. I could not get one cent more since the first of August until now; therefore my salary is due for nine months which makes 360 doll. bill emitted. 360 added to 699 doll. the balance of the warrant, makes 1059, due me. But what shall I get? The state money being valued at three dollars for one I shall receive only 353 doll. in gold and if Congress delays longer that payment, I shall not see anything of it. You see, General, how I am wronged. Had I received that money earlier, even in January, when there was not yet any difference between gold and bills emitted, I would have been able to buy the necessaries of life and besides I would have laid in a supply of sugar and coffee which would have saved me a lot of money.

I thought that I would give you some explanation on this question and as you seem so well inclined to help me, will you kindly permit me to ask you to present to Congress this short address which will be strengthened by your powers of oratory and by your charm of speaking.

Mr. Lotbiniere, a priest from Canada, and the only one of the clergy of that country who, notwithstanding the opposition of his bishop, his family and his friends, sided with the party of Liberty, has come to me and presented himself as the former general-in-chief of the army in Canada in 1776. He told me of his poverty due to the fact that his salary and the warrant given him on the 2nd of September last, have not been paid. He says that he received on October 2nd last on account of his warrant ten thousand continental dollars, that the value of that money being at the time 75 for one silver dollar.

This money enabled him to buy a suit, some shirts, stockings and shoes and to live until the 2nd of February. But since the 2nd of February the continental dollars fell considerably in value; so did the state money. 200 continental dollars were worth only one silver dollar and 3 dollars of the state money worth only one, so that he could manage to get only a wig and a pair of shoes and had to live very economically on the other ten thousand dollars, which he received on the 2nd of February last. Now he has only 500 with which he hopes to be able to live a week.

In fact, gentlemen, the high position he held, the large income he gave up to join our cause, the considerable help he gave our army, his very presence holding back in our regiments the enlisted Canadians who wanted to leave because the Bishop had ordered all priests to refuse the sacraments, even at the hour of death, to all those who had enlisted in our army, and had they left the whole army would have perished; all these considerations speak for him, they were communicated to you by General Arnold and other high ranking officers. Therefore, we cannot, without injustice and without incurring the blame of the Canadian clergy, nobility and peasantry, leave without help this honest priest, who would be well- to-do if he had not espoused our cause. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary that we pay the balance of his warrant, amounting now to 699 doll. state money and his nine months salary amounting to 360. He complains that the war-board and the Treasury do not execute the orders they receive from Congress in his case. We must thererfore, give a special order either to the Continental Treasurer or to the pay master to pay him promptly on the first of the month. Every communication with Canada being cut off, this gentleman is unable to receive anything from his country and is not in the same predicament as the other officers who may get help from home, while waiting for their salaries. If we cannot do him justice let us cut off his head and end his misery; he himself would prefer that way of dying to a lingering and ignominious death.

Gentlemen. I repeat that we owe it to justice and to the necessity of securing the good will of the Canadians, who, notwithstanding their feeling against him would not entertain a good opinion of us to help him out of misery and pay him promptly on the first of the month. His age, his noble birth, and his position command our respect and it is humiliating for him to go 30 to 40 times to the war

board or to the Treasury without getting anything but rude answers from the officials.

This speech, General, enhanced by the glamor of the eloquence with which nature has endowed you will be irresistible. This being done nothing in the world will restrain me when I shall find an opportunity of showing your Excellency the depth of my gratitude.

LOTBINIERE, CANADIAN PRIEST AND KNIGHT OF THE ORDER OF MALTA.

To His Excellency Mr. Sullivan, Major General of the Armies of the United States of America.

Original in French. Papers of *Continental Congress*, No. 78, XIV, 423.]

Perhaps General Sullivan acceded to the request of Father Lotbiniere but perhaps not. On September 5, 1774, he wrote from Philadelphia to Captain John Langdon, denouncing the Quebec Bill. He declared the Catholic an accursed religion, so dangerous to the State and favorable to despotism "that Philadelphia will be a city of refuge for Roman Catholics who will ever appear in favor of the prerogative of the crown, backed by an abandoned minister, aided by the whole force of Great Gritian and assisted by the same Indian nations. I am certain no God may as well exist in the universe as those two Religions where the Papists have the power to extirpate the profession of the other,"

Yet Sullivan was the son of an Irish Catholic.

He may have become more tolerant of Catholics from his intercourse with them in Canada and his association with Father Lotbiniere. When, in 1781, an effort was made in his State, New Hampshire to abolish the religious test for office, he drew up the report of the town of Durham in favor of striking out "Protestant" and inserting "Christian" in the Constitution of the State.

BISHOP BRIAND OF QUEBEC "KEPT CANADA FOR ENGLAND."

Jean Oliver Briand seventh Bishop of Quebec, was born January 23d 1715, ordained Priest March 16th, 1739. Two years later he arrived in Canada as Secretary of Bishop Pontbriand and until his death he acted as Canon of the Quebec Cathedral.

The See remained vacant until 1766 when Briand was appointed to it. He remained until 1784 when he resigned on account of age and infirmities, He died June 25, 1794. "At the time of the American invasion of 1775 it was he who by his loyalty and his authority kept this colony for England" says Monsigneur Tétu in *Mandements des Eveques* vol. 11 p. 5, 187 quoted in *Jesuit Relative* vol. 71, p. 388.

"Bishop Briand worked hard and did almost as much as General Carleton [the Governor] for the British cause" [Justin H. Smith in *Am. History Review* Jan. 1902. p. 400.]

General Richard Montgomery, in his belief that "the will of an oppressed people, compelled to choose between Liberty and Slavery, must be obeyed" had on December 31st, 1775, endeavored to take Quebec, but lost his life in the attempt.

A year later Bishop Briand ordered *Te Deum* commemoration of the victory of the British and the preservation of the City from capture by the Americans. His pastoral address to "the CATHOLIC PEOPLE of QUEBEC" reads:

Bishop Briand's Pastoral Letter.

[Translation.]

Jean Oliver Briand by the mercy of God and the grace of the Holy See, Bishop of Quebec. Suffragan immediate of the Holy See. Honorary Canon of the Metropolitan Church of Tours, etc.

To the Catholic people of Quebec, Salutation and Benediction in Our Lord Jesus Christ.

What are to-day your sentiments, Dearly beloved Brethren, on the happy and glorious event of the 31st December, 1775, of which the anniversary will, in three days from this date, recall the grateful and consoling memory? You looked upon it then as a singular dispensation of Providence, to be remembered and held as a debt of gratitude to the God of armies for all time. This was the language of His Excellency and of all our officers and all our men. With the greatest consolation did we witness on the part of all the generals and faithful defenders of this town manifestations of the sentiment and see them all combine to render homage to the Supreme Being for the victory of that day. Nor could we, in view of the principles of our holy faith, augur otherwise than favorably of the event or refrain from hoping for what the Lord really accomplished and what He never fails to perform when men are faithful in rendering to Him due tribute of glory and honor. He consummated His work, and after having amid the shades of night, rescued us by a kind of miracle, or rather by a real miracle from the hands of our enemies, and delivered them into our hands, when they deemed themselves victorious, that God of goodness, against whom neither science, nor wisdom,nor strength, nor craft, nor knavery can prevail, restored to us and not only to us but to the whole colony, the blessing of liberty.

And here perhaps I should enumerate and set before you in detail all the marvels which the Lord has accomplished in our behalf, in order to convince you that it is your most strict duty to give him thanks and sing His praises: *Cantate Domino canticum norum qua mirabilia fecit* But you have well weighed and appreciated these wonderful mercies of God and times beyond number have I been delighted to hear you proclaim it, in accents which faith alone can inspire. It was God and God only, who restored to us H. E. Monsieur

Carleton. He it was who covered him with his shadow, who guided his footsteps, and brought him safely through the network of most vigilant sentinels specially posted at every point of vantage in order to capture him and carry him off; it was God who enabled our illustrious Governor to put courage in every heart, to tranquilize the minds of the people and to reestablish peace and union in the town. It was God himself who imparted and preserved unanimity and concord amidst a garrison consisting of men of different ranks, characters, interests and religions. It was God who inspired that brave and glorious garrison with the constancy, strength, generosity and attachment to their king and their duty, which enabled them to sustain a long and painful seige during the severity of a Canadian winter. Did you not also recognize a further evidence of the special protection of Divine Providence in the matter of the failure of fire-ship which would in all probability have reduced to ashes the whole of the lower town? What more need I say? The arrival of help from Europe at a most opportune moment and but a few hours in advance of the assistance which reached the enemy; the terror manifested by the enemy on seeing His Excellency outside of the walls with a small number of men; the affair of Three-Rivers; the precipitate flight of the enemy on the approach of our troops; the victories won on lake Champlain; was not all this the work of Divine Providence and do not these wonderful mercies call for our gratitude? *Cantate Domino canticum Norum qui mirabilia fecit.* Let us then Dear Brethren most joyfully chant a hymn of rejoicing and gratitude to our God, who has worked so many wonders in our behalf. Let us sing it, our illustrious Governor, who is of one mind with us in this matter asks for it. Your brave commanders, under whom you have won so much glory, have asked that it be done, and begged of us to chant a solemn Mass, in order to testify before Almighty God by that august sacrafice, in a manner more worthy of Him and in better keeping with their sentiments, to their heartfelt and boundless gratitude.

Wherefore, after having conferred in this matter with the clergy of our episcopal city, we have resolved to celebrate, at or about nine of the clock, on Tuesday next, 31st December, in our Cathedral Church a solemn mass in Thanksgiving, after which we shall,'in Pontifical Robes, chant the *Te Deum*, whereat our clergy secular and regular shall attend. We exhort and nevertheless enjoin upon all the people to attend thereat, in so far as it can be done, in good faith and

before God. We should not consider as being exempt from sin those who through ill will or a spirit of criticism and disobedience, and for no other reason absent themselves therefrom. The *Te Deum* is to be followed by Benediction of the most Holy Sacrament, and we grant an indulgence of forty days.

Given at Quebec, under our hand, the seal of our Arms and the signature of our Secretary, this 29th December, 1776.

T J. OL., Bishop of Quebec.

Par Monseigneur,

Frs. Perrault, Priest, Secretary.

We read in the Biographical Notice of Mgr. Briand by Mgr. Henri Tétu. [The Bishops of Quebec p. 345.]

"December 31, 1776, the Bishop (Mgr. Briand) ordered a Te Deum in thanksgiving for the deliverance of Quebec and of all the colonies.

"The ceremony in the Cathedral was most solemn. After the Pontifical Mass, the Bishop intoned the hymn of Thanksgiving, the cannon boomed on the ramparts and at the door of the church the armed Catholic militia fired numerous charges (salutes). Twelve Canadian prisoners who had taken arms against the King, were freed after having made "*amende honorable*" the day before in the prison, and on this day having been brought to the cathedral at the end of the ceremonies to ask full pardon for the scandal which they had given were then sent to their homes each one being ordered to make further amends in his own parish church."

Mgr. Tetu gives as his authority a letter of Mother Marie-Catherine de Saint Ignace of the General Hospital, Quebec. [*Bulletin des Historiques Recherches*].

1776, Dec. 31. *Te Deum* at Quebec for defeat of Montgomery a year before. Services in the Cathedral by the Bishop, and eight Canadians had to do open penance with halters around their necks and beg pardon of God, the Church and King George for having helped the Americans.—[Lowell's *Hessians*, p. 124-5.]

On November 24th, 1784 Bishop Briand of Quebec wrote Governor Hamilton giving "notice of his determination to resign his office, on account of a malady which is incurable, and transfer it to his worthy coadjutor, given him by His Majesty, and whom he had consecrated twelve years ago by permission of Mr. Cramahe, then Lieutenant Governor. For twenty years he has preserved the people of his diocese in fidelity and impressed on them that they could

neither be Christians nor true Catholics if they were not faithful to their oaths, and subject to the power whom the providence of God had placed over them. Recommends the appointment of a coadjutor to his successor who is in his 75th year, involving a danger of losing both, which terrifies his people. Recommends this as the last and most important affair whose success can interest him."

Governor Hamilton replied expressing his sorrow at the cause of his resignation of an office which his Lordship had so worthily filled, and the regret with which the whole Providence would learn of his resignation. Will transmit immediately His Lordship's Letter to the Secretary of State and communicate the answer.

(Canadian State Papers Q. 24–1, or Canadian Archives Report 1891, State Papers p. 147).

On January 1900 an article appeared in *The Semaine Religieuse de Quebec*, published without "the approbation of Archbishop Begin which was "regrettable and in the opinion of French Canadians both lay and clerical uncalled for at any time." It was commented on in "a despatch from Ottawa" published in *The Herald of Montreal* in a manner "besides being a tissue of historical errors "was "most insulting to the Archbishop of Quebec."

It was replied to by Archbishop Paul Bruchesi of Montreal on January 12th, 1900 in which he said, respecting the loyalty of the French Canadians.

Read the Episcopal documents that have appeared since Canada became a colony of England; read the instructions that have been given since then to the people by their clergy and discover, if you can, one word to substantiate the accusation of our disloyalty. We have always been loyal, and we intend to be ever so. We love France, and what English speaking person would dare upbraid us for so doing. Still we consider England as a generous, a powerful nation, and under her sheltering flag Providence has placed our holy religion and liberty.

The foreigner who wrote the article in question states that England oppresses us. We deny the assertion most emphatically. We are proud of our allegiance to England. We hope England will maintain her exalted position in the world, because we firmly believe that the Almighty has great designs upon her, and that our French Canadian nation, small as it is ,would have all to suffer if her prestige was in any measure diminished.

To this Archbishop Begin of Quebec wrote Archbishop Bruchesi saying.

"Need I recall here Mgr. Briand, who, occupying the See of Quebec at the turning point in the history of New France, living alternately under the banner of the Fleur de lis and again under the British standard, loyal at first to the former until, when on the plains of Abraham, all, save honor, was lost, and then generously transferring to the latter the homage of entire loyalty, used all his sacred influence during the terrible days of 1775 to keep Canada faithful to her new masters. And, nevertheless, God knows how great the temptation must be to the children of France in America to unite their fate to that of the children of Albion (England), less scrupulous, less loyal and more easily pardoned for a revolt, real and efficacious, than we are to-day for a fanciful disloyalty. If the Catholic emissaries of the United States, if the impassioned appeal of the French officers who served the cause of American Independence could not triumph over the last revolt of the Canadian people, it is because the voice of the head of the Church of Quebec, invoking the sacred principles of respect due to the ruling authority, and stigmatizing with the name of "rebels" those who allowed themselves to be allured, opposed to the Revolution an insuperable barrier. And England, already despoiled of the richest portion of her heritage in America, owed to a French Bishop the conservation of the country of Canada—one of the most precious jewels in the imperial crown."

So to Bishop Briand is it mainly due that "Canada was lost" to the United States and not to John Jay's anti-Catholic utterances in the address to the people of Great Britain which the Continental Congress issued, October 21st, 1774, declaring the Catholic "a religion fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets"—"A Religion that has deluged your Island in blood and dispersed Impiety, Bigotry and Persecution, Murder and Rebellion through every part of the world."

Bishop Briand was right. England had acquired Canada in 1763 by the surrender of France at its defeat at Quebec by the army of General Wolfe and the capitulation of the French forces under Montcalm. England became the authority to be recognized—Allegiance was then due to her.

When the revolt of the Americans came on and they had taken up arms in defense of the "rights" they claimed which at different times were set forth in various argumentative ways. England offset

the demands of "the Protestant Colonies" by giving the Canadians in May, 1775, THE QUEBEC ACT which "established Popery," said the Revolter but which simply restored to the Canadians the ecclesiastical laws under which they had lived during the French regime.—The right of the clergy to collect tithes, being the most important in its effects upon the people and an effective cause of the favorable attitude of the mass of the people towards "the *Bostonnais*" on their arrival in Canada.

The clergy, of course, with very few exceptions—Father Floguet a notable instance—rejoiced at the restoration of their old privileges. The People—where we can get record of their sentiments—appear, very largely, not to have been so well pleased at the return of the tithe system. They also appear through natural love of France, and detestation at being a conquered people, to have had a full-hearted sympathy with the Americans who had come as an armed force into their country.

But it is very plain that though Congress had addressed the "INHABITANTS OF CANADA" "that the enjoyment of their very Religion depends on a Legislature in which you have no share and over which you have no control and your priests are exposed to expulsion, Banishment and Ruin, whenever their wealth and possessions furnish sufficient temptation," and also that the Commissioners of 1775—Livingstone, Paine and Langdon—were empowered to declare to the Canadians" we hold sacred the right of conscience and shall never molest them in the free enjoyment of their Religion," yet the men of the army, a few months later, under Generals Montgomery and Arnold could not, and did not, suppress the feelings of hostility to the religion of the Canadians, but gave too frequent evidences of it when in that country.

Few of the Canadians knew of the addresses of Congress, but they knew as they felt, the keenness of the antipathy manifested towards their faith, and its practices. The invaders were first welcomed then became abhorred, because of the evidence of this contempt of and for their Religion.

To uphold their own rights in their own Colonies, the "Protestant Colonies" seized arms and invaded Canada to either ally it forcibly or to hold it as a hostile country so as to prevent its inhabitants being used by England to "impose Popery" on "the Protestant Colonies" to the Southward.

Bishop Briand was the successor of Bishop Pontbriand, who died June 8, 1760, but he did not succeed him until March 16th, 1766, nearly six years later. In the interim England had supplanted France in the possession of the Country, A successor to Bishop Pontbriand had to be appointed by Rome, with the approbation of England. So Bishop Briand entered on "his office"—given him by "His Majesty." With the QUEBEC ACT passed Canada then had no cause to revolt. They had not been oppressed by England. Their religious instincts were like wise averse to resisting the lawful authorities of their Country. They who might cast off this restriction simply were resisters of the power ordained by God. The priests too, kept the people obedient to Authority and Bishop Briand kept the priest subject thereto as well. But above all stands the potent and impressive fact, that Canada had no just cause to enter upon a Revolution or to aid or assist Rebellion.

It is worthy of mention that Bishop Briand was, on September 1st, 1771, given by the propaganda faculties by Rome to administer Confirmation in "Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia and other conterminous places." The documents did not reach Quebec until the following Summer. On October 15th, 1772, the Bishop wrote Cardinal Castello that "as soon as the Governor of Quebec returns from London, I shall endeavor to obtain his permission to go to Maryland or Philadelphia and do my best to fulfil the mission which it pleases His Holiness to honor me. Meanwhile I shall write to some missionary in those countries to forewarn them."

He wrote to Father Farmer of Philadelphia who, April 22nd, 1773, wrote the Bishop that his coming would "create great disturbances, with the danger of depriving us of the paltry privileges we are now enjoying, especially in Maryland."

This was because of the agitation that had, since 1763, been going on relative to the attempt of the Church of England to establish the Episcopate in this country. This was resisted very generally by the Dissenters. It really was one of the many causes of the Revolution. No toleration would have been given Bishop Briand had he come. The very title "Bishop" would have incensed the people beyond the power of restraint.

FATHER FLOQUET, JESUIT. "AN INVETERATE ENEMY" OF THE BRITISH TO WHOM HE "BEHAVED VERY BADLY" WHILE "THE MOST DANGEROUS" SUPPORTER OF THE "REBEL" AMERICANS. SUSPENDED BY BISHOP BRIAND; HIS DEFENSE AND SUBMISSION.

Rev. Pierre René Floquet, S. J. born at Paris, September 12th, 1716; entered the Society of Jesus August 6th, [or 14th] 1735. Arrived in Canada August 17th, 1744 took the four vows July 16th, 1752, and died at Quebec, October 18th, 1782. In 1757, he became Superior at Montreal. When in 1776, Rev. John Carroll, at the request of Congress, accompanied the Commissioners sent to Canada to arrange terms of neutrality, if alliance could not be effected, it was believed by Congress that, although the first Congress had declared the Religion of Father Carroll to be a religion "fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets" "A Religion which has deluged your island [England] in blood and dispersed Impiety, Bigotry, Persecution, Murder and Rebellion throughout every part of the world," [October, 21st, 1774], nevertheless his sacerdotal association with the Jesuits of Canada, would enable him to be helpful in promoting the endeavors of the Commissioners, Benjamin Franklin, Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Samuel Chase.

The American Commissioners arrived in Montreal, 29th April 1776, and lodged at Mr. Walker's an ardent sympathizer with the Americans. Father Carroll visited Father Floquet. But the Bishop of Quebec, "forbid his clergy to have any intercourse with Father Carroll" [De-C. & Shea, 47.] So he was received by his brethren with scant courtesy. He was permitted to say Mass in the house of Father Floquet, who had, "offended the government by speaking in favor of the American Colonists" [ibid]. "For a supposed infringement of Bishop Briand's order, Father Floquet was suspended and summoned to Quebec" from Montreal. [ibid.]

Father Floquet Called Col. Hazen's "Chaplain."

Col. Moses Hazen at Montreal 20th April 1776, reported: "General Wooster has ordered me to join him at Quebec with the handful of men I have, calling it a regiment, not considering, I am sure, the situation I am in; a sample of it you see by Bradinoor's company when nine out of twenty-two deserted on their way down. It will not do to break faith with the Canadians, and I know it is impossible

to march from this until they are paid. Indeed, in all appearance it has been in all difficulty that I have prevailed on them thus far to their duty, in which Sier Floquet has assisted by giving them absolution when every priest in the country refused. He has now the name of my Chaplain.

"I have necessary intelligence through that quarter. Indeed I have laid myself out for it and believe I have got what may be depended on." [Canadian Archives: Haldemand Papers, B. 27, p. 398.]

That is American testimony to the friendly helpfulness of Father Floquet. A bit of British evidence may now be cited.

"The Most Dangerous"

The following is an extract of a letter from Monforton to Ceres dated 22d September 1778.

(Translation.)

"This idol to which they have sacrificed so many innocent victims has far more adorers in this part of America than it ought to have and among them Father Floquet. If he is guilty of any treason, he has undoubtedly been the most dangerous because his correspondence has been too long kept secret in this instance. Those who have any knowledge of the institute of the Society of Jesus ought to be aware of the difference between a *frank* Jesuit and *a free* Jesuit; and Mr. Carleton's conduct in this matter is a very striking illustration of the idea I mean to express regarding the Government's mildness, His Excellency having taken no other step at so critical point but to recommend him to the Bishop's care.

"The zeal with which his Lordship and his respectable clergy have endeavored to encourage the faithful, to reassure the hesitating and reclaim those who had gone astray, convinces his Excellency that no further fear need be entertained of Father Floquet and is certainly calculated to remove from the minds of the public the unfortunate prejudices which he had planted in a credulous and ignorant population, of whom a large part will now be kept on our side by the shining example of the nobility and the better element generally in Canada, whom honor alone has led to take up arms in defense of their Prince." [Canadian archives: Haldimand Papers B. 122 p.164] He thus defended himself in a letter to the Bishop June 15, 1776:

DEFENCE OF FATHER FLOQUET.

15th June 1776.

MY LORD:

M. Montgolfier read to me yesterday some fragments of one of your letters. I could see between the lines that your heart still loved, and that your paternal kindness still feared to find guilty, him whom you had to judge according to his merits. Grievously accused, guilty or not, more or less guilty, he consents, my Lord, to receive from your tribunal the sentence which shall best conduce to the public, and above all, to the spiritual, welfare of your diocese. If I could serve God and my neighbor in one of your smallest parishes, one the least lucrative and the most distant from the towns and public highways, but at the same time the easiest to serve, (for I am growing infirm and heavy), the charge the least sought for, the most shunned, would henceforth please me better than Montreal.

If I must be banished from the Province, I hope I may go forth furnished with a certificate of life and conduct, which your Lordship's charity will accord to me, so that I may be in a position to do better elsewhere than I have done in this country.

Here is my public confession—I do not like the Quebec Bill and I have said so too openly. This has made enemies for me of all those who are responsible for it.

I treated the *Bostonnais* considerately from human respect. If I had been as violent against them as many others were, the whole fury of the storm would have fallen on my head; I being the only Jesuit at Montreal, I would have served as an example to others, and perhaps have caused a persecution of our missionaries in Pennsylvania and in Maryland.

After the departure of the King's troops, the Montreal deputies promised the Bostonnais a true or else a false and deceptive neutrality. I believed they promised a true one and one to be kept. I kept it, and advised others to do so; this made me tolerant to both parties in the tribunal of penance. The Bostonnais Colonel Hazen commanded for some time at Montreal. He restored to me the portion of our house which Mr. Murray had turned into a prison. I accepted this favor, which I had not sought, and thanked the bestower of it. Mr. Hazen sent me a written invitation to dinner. I dined with him once, accompanied by an Irish royalist priest who lived in our house and who had formerly been on intimate terms with Mr. and Mrs. Hazen.

At the close of the winter, the Americans raised two companies of Canadian militia, Lieber and Oliver. The new recruits were on garrison duty at Montreal when the Paschal season opened. On being asked to hear their confessions, I consented to receive them, if I could be assured that they would not go to besiege Quebec, and would merely do peaceful duty at Montreal. On Mr. Oliver assuring me of this I yielded. On Easter Tuesday, in the afternoon, I began to hear the least bad, but was far from approving them. Those who received permission to communicate mingled with the crowd in the parish church until Low Sunday inclusively

On Tuesday after Quasimodo [Low Sunday], three tardy militiamen received absolution from me, and presented themselves at the parish church. They were publicly refused. I consoled them and communicated them in private. [junuis clausis.]

Such my Lord, are my principal acts during last Winter and Spring and they have called down upon me suspicion, exaggeration, malicious interpretations, detraction, calumny and the animosity of many persons. In truth, in conscience, and before God am I or have I been a *Bostonnais* rebel? No, My Lord.

Last Fall, when the loyal inhabitants assembled at Montreal for an expedition which failed, no one received them better, confessed and communicated more, than I did. I told those who consulted me that they did well to volunteer for the King's service and that these who rebelled against orders did wrong. I have never ceased chanting the *Dominie Salvum* and have offered the prayer for the King.

One Father Carroll, a missionary from Maryland, having come to Montreal with two members of Congress, presented a letter from Father Farmer, first missionary at Philadelphia. The Seminary saw this letter which contained nothing objectionable. Nevertheless I did not answer it. Father Carroll did not lodge with me, and dined with me but once. He said Mass in our house by Monsignor Montgolfier's permission.

I have never said, written or done anything in behalf of Congress or the United Colonies, nor have I received anything from them, except our dilapidated house.

I have been offered two pieces of advice, either of which if followed would lead to my condemnation. One is to quit the Province on the retreat of the *Bostonnais*; the other is to make from the pulpit, I do

not know what retraction of my errors, and reparation for my faults.

I have rejected the first suggestion and do not know what to do about the second.

I am at your disposal, my lord. You will find me very submissive to the orders, advice and wishes of your Lordship.

I am, my Lord

Your very humble and obedient servant,

P R f loquet j

SUBMISSION OF FATHER FLOQUET.

Notwithstanding the explanation and avowments of this letter Bishop Briand placed Father Floquet under an interdict. In a few months, however, the condemned Priest made his submission in these words,

MY LORD: To satisfy my conscience, I the undersigned, confess that the grievous circumstances in which I found myself last Winter in Montreal, have been to me the occasion of many faults of which I sincerely repent. I humbly supplicate your Lordship to pardon me, and to remove the interdict which my misdoings have drawn down on me. If I obtain this favor of your goodness, my Lord, I hope that my conduct will convince my Superiors and the public that I wish to yield and to endeavor in my sphere to make others yield to Caesar that which is Caesar's and to God that which is God's.

P. R. FLOUQUET, S. J.

QUEBEC, 29th November 1776.

[Archives of Quebec.]

After Arnold's treason, while at New York, on July 26th, 1781, he gave information to General Clinton the British Commander, that he "remembered but one suspected person in Canada—a Jesuit at Montreal, whose name is Pierre and the only one of that Sect there. He is a very sensible shrewd man." [Pa. Magi. Oct. 1884.]

The statement has been frequently made that Arnold, the Traitor, after going over to the British violated the confidence reposed in him by persons residing within the British lines while he was in the service of Congress.

By the correspondence between Governor-General Haldiman of Canada with Sir Henry Clinton commander of the British forces at

New York it appears that on November 16th, 1780, Haldimand wrote Clinton saying: "Arnold in his military capacity had distinguished himself at the siege of Quebec and in other parts of the province by which he had acquired the perfect confidence of the disaffected inhabitants and of course took advantage of retaining them as emissaries in the Rebel interest. I have suspected many persons to be concerned in this business" "but by the arts of secrecy of those employed and many of them being under the influence of religion all my efforts to discover them have been ineffectual and though I have confined some upon well founded suspicion yet I cannot obtain proofs sufficient to justify my making an example.

"Before the French alliance I suspected the Jesuits and some few of the clergy—since I am confident that the greatest part of them have entered warmly into the interests of the Americans and it is much to be feared, find means to correspond with the enemy. Mr. Arnold I should think will not hesitate candidly to give every information in his power by which a discovery may be made and a stop put to the intercourse which certainly sustains between this province and the principals in the Rebellion."

This letter nor Ensign Drummer sent with it did not reach Clinton. Ensign Prentice was sent Feb. 7th, 1781, with another of similar import.

Neither had reached Clinton up to July 23rd, 1781, when he received from Haldiman, a letter of June 6th telling of the two despatches and saying: "One of my letters was to request you would procure from Arnold some information of the disaffected persons in this province of whom he must have a thorough knowledge. It would be of infinite use as the secrecy of the Jesuits baffles all my endeavors to discover them."

A memorandum dated July 26th, 1781, in Arnold's handwritings says: "Lieut. General de Reidesel will be so good as to acquaint General Haldiman that General Arnold having had all his papers taken can only remember one suspected person in Canada—a Jesuit at Montreal, whose name is Pierre and the only one of that sect there. He is a very sensible shrewd man."

General James Robertson on October 31st 1781, wrote to General Haldiman "General Arnold says Pire Floquet is an inveterate enemy.

On November 12, 1781, Sir Henry Clinton wrote Haldiman 'General Arnold says Monsieur du Calvert, Piere Floquet were

friends to the Rebels." [*Pa. Mag. His. & Biog. Oct.* 1905 p. 500-1.]

Bishop Briand in writing on 27th, of April 1777, to Father Meurin, S. J. at Prairie-du-Rocher in the Illinois (now Randolph County, State of Illinois) in answer to his letter of 23d May 1776, said:

"Father Floquet has behaved very badly in the recent troubles, He favours the *Bostonnais*. The people of Massachusetts stand firm; they are strong in numbers, and what is more in the nature of their surroundings. There still remains in our country many *Bostonnais* hearts. Some even betray themselves by their conduct."

This letter did not reach Father Meurin while he was alive. He died February 23 1777. Age 71 years. Another account gives August 13th as date of death.

He was the last of the Canadian Jesuits in the West subject to the Bishop of Quebec, to whom he became subject in 1774, after the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773, by Clement XIV.

THE PRIESTS OF LAPRAIRIE, CANADA, 1775—ONE A "JESUIT, A VILLAIN AND A TORY"—THE OTHER "A FAT JOLLY THING AND A WHIG." BREAD AND MILK EVER READY FOR THE AMERICANS—THE ADDRESS OF CONGRESS TO THE CANADIANS.

The *Journal* of Major Henry Livingston of Third New York Regiment under Col. James Clinton of the expedition of General Montgomery published in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 1898, records:

Oct. 19, 1775. The village of Laprairie contains about thirty houses, small and great—stands on bank of River St. Lawrence. The Church in it is pretty altho far from being handsome. The chancel is highly finished; the architecture truly grand; every part of it was brought from France many years ago. They have two excellent pictures in it, one of the Virgin Mary presenting a rosary to St. Francis and the other the same St. Francis preaching to the Japanese. The main body of the church occupied by the audience is as rudely finished as ever a rude Canadian could wish. [p 20].

The urbanity of the peasants is very singular. The meanest of our soldiers that entered one of the houses was instantly regaled with a large bowl of bread and milk or any other eatables their houses afforded, and although our soldiery seldom made them any gratuities

their kindness was still unremitted. But although their hearts are good their economy is by no means so. After a peasants house is once built and the rain shut out, no more water ever touches their floors save a little holy water every morning which follows a partial sweeping. Just by the bedside of each master of a family is placed a crucifix, generally a foot or foot and a half long, some very coarse and ill made, others gilt and pretty. I never saw a bad bed in Canada.

All their religion consists in going very regularly to Church every Sunday and as regularly horseracing, boxing, wrestling and gaming between services. Sunday with them is the merriest day in the week. Sincere piety and rational devotion is too little known among them. Yet I never saw people so generally, old and young, attend divine service, or more solemnly go thro' the round of follies their absurd religion calls upon them to attend. I inquired if there was not some Protestants in this part of the country but could not hear of a single family. There lived at Laprairie two ministers. One an old Jesuit and Rector of the parish, an arch Villain and a Tory. The other fat jolly thing of a Curate who did all the preaching and praying and a thorough Whig. The people were very much averse to the Act of Parliament enforcing the French laws—and hated Governor Carleton with perfect hatred. It appeared amazing to me how he could have the effrontery to tell the ministry or their master that he could arm and bring into the field 10,000 Canadians when at the same time he must have been sensible he could not arm and produce ten *willing* men in Canada.

Dr. T. A. Brisson of Laprairie for the Rector Rev. M. R. Lamarche supplies the following recited information concerning the Church and priests of 1775.

That very year is marked by an inter-reign in the pastorship of Laprairie, caused by the death of the Rev. Jacques Marchand-Desligneries, which occurred March 30, 1775. Few weeks before, Rev. Father Antoine Gordon, a Jesuit missionary, came to assist him in the performance of his ministry and continued, after that date, to act as officiating minister of Laprairie, as late as October 8, of the same year, when Rev. Filiau took charge of the parish as appointed rector.

Father Gordon came to Canada in August 1748, and died at St. Regis, in 1777, according to Bishop Plessis. M. Noiseux says he died July 29, 1779.

After October 8, 1775, he may have remained some time at Laprairie, but not likely very long, because we find only one act of his in the registers, dated October 10th.

Rev. Filiau, (Joseph-Hyppolite Filiau-Dubois), son of Francois Filiau and Therese Vige, was born at Montreal, November 13, 1734, was ordained November 30, 1757, and appointed as curate of Pointe-Lévis, where he lived until 1767. Then he was sent to Sorel as parish priest until 1777, and to Laprairie from October 1775 to March 6, 1788, date of his death.

As to the old pictures, we have them yet, but they are deposited in the loft of the church. In fact, there is no picture at all, old or new, in our church, which is besides a magnificent one. It was built in 1840 and replaced the old one existing in 1775.

Very truly yours,

Dr. T. A. Brisson.

So Father Gordon, the Jesuit, was the Tory and so Major Livingston thought him "an arch villain"; the "fat jolly thing" whom the Major thought the Curate seems to have been Father Filiau. He no doubt did the "preaching and the praying" because he was the Rector and not the "curate" as the Major supposed because he had but lately come and Father Gordon had not as yet gone away. "A village of thirty houses" required but one priest.

Letter from Laprairie, November 3, 1775, said:

The Canadians, in general, on this side the St. Lawrence, are very friendly to us; almost unanimously so along the River Sorel; where they are actually embodied, and in arms altogether to the number of more than 1000.

About this place they are not quite so active. Though I think they are now beginning to stir. More hospitable people I never saw; you cannot enter into a peasants house at anytime of day but they set a loaf of bread and a pan of milk before you.

In October 1775, the five hundred Americans stationed at Laprairie were attacked by British forces but repulsed.

Concerning the Address to the Canadians a letter from Montreal, March 24, 1775, relates:

"The Address from the Continental Congress attracted the notice of some of the principal Canadians; it was soon translated into tolerable French. The decent manner in which religious matters were

touched; the encomiums on the French Nation, flattered a people fond of compliments. They begged the translator, as he had proceeded so well to try his hand on that ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN. He had equal success in this and read his performance to a numerous audience. But when he came to that part which treats of the new modeling of the Province; draws a picture of the Catholic Religion, and the Canadian manners, they could not contain their resentment, nor express it but in broken curses: 'Oh! the perfidious, double-faced Congress; let us bless and obey our benevolent Prince, whose humanity is consistent and extends to all Religions; let us abhor all who would reduce us from our loyalty, by acts that would dishonour a Jesuit, and whose Addresses, like their Resolves, are destructive of their own objects!" [*Am. Ar.* 4-2—231.]

Of course, they did not speak these words. They were simply used to show the spirit of detestation manifested by the Canadians on discovering that the Great Continental Congress was not above duplicity, that that body could blow hot or cold as would be likely to serve its purposes.

Major John Brown writing to the Committee of Correspondence in Boston from Montreal, March 29, 1775, said:

"The French people are (as a body) extremely ignorant and bigoted, the Curates or Priests having almost the entire government of their temporal as well as spiritual affairs. In Laprairie, a small village about nine miles from Montreal, I gave my landlord the letter of address, and their being five *Cures* in the village praying over the dead body of an old Friar, the pamphlet was soon handed them who sent a messenger to purchase several of them. I made a present of each of them one, and was desired to wait on them in the nunnery of the holy sisters. They appeared to have no disposition unfriendly towards the colonies but choose rather to stand neutral."—[*Am. Ar.* 4-2, *p.* 244.]

The "letter of Address" given the landlord was no doubt, one of the Addresses issued by Congress.

By the letter of Dr. Brisson the date of death of "the old Friar"—Father Desligneries, occurred on March 30. But Brisson's letter of 29th speaks of him as then dead and, seemingly, as if he had been dead several days.

"CONGRESS RETAINS A LIVELY SENSE OF THE SERVICES THAT THE CANADIAN OFFICERS AND MEN HAVE RENDERED THE UNITED STATES AND THEY ARE SERIOUSLY DISPOSED TO REWARD THEM FOR THEIR VIRTUOUS SUFFERINGS IN THE CAUSE OF LIBERTY."—[*Resolutions* April 23, 1783].

"CONGRESS' OWN."

COLONEL JAMES LIVINGSTON'S REGIMENT.

When, in the Fall of 1775, the Americans under Generals Schuyler, Montgomery and Arnold invaded Canada with the purpose of holding it by conquest or to insure its neutrality, the great body of the Canadian people, undoubtedly, welcomed the "Rebels," aided by the ready sale of supplies, though of course, all increased prices as a more active demand had arisen, and also cooperated in various ways in helpfulness to those who had, though as an armed body, come to their country. This spirit of good will was in a short time destroyed by the course of conduct of the Americans and by the Canadians, the expected failure of the expeditions.

However, while the good will spirit existed and many were joining the several corps as volunteers, Congress resolved, on January 20, 1776, to organize two Regiments of Canadians. As they were not to be attached to any of the States they became known as CONGRESS' OWN Regiments. The First was organized by Colonel James Livingston. Though one of the well known Livingston family of New York he was by birth a Canadian. He was born in 1747 and died at Saratoga, New York, November 20, 1832.

His father was the youngest son of Robert of Stillwater, New York. His mother, Catharine, daughter of General Abraham Ten Broeck of Canada. He married Elizabeth Simpson of Montreal.

General Richard Montgomery had married into the Livingston family of New York. When he was preparing for the invasion of Canada James Livingston, then at Montreal succeeded in enlisting the services of over 300 Canadians in and about Montreal. These he hurried to New York when they joined Montgomery's army.

This band of refugee recruits greatly aided Montgomery in the capture of Montreal, St. John and other points along the St. Lawrence River and were with Montgomery in the assault on Quebec, December 31, 1775.

General Montgomery appointed Livingston a COLONEL. On August 15, 1775, Congress confirmed the appointment and directed that

a commission should be given him as COLONEL with authority to enlist as many Canadians as desired to engage in the service.

Captain Wright at this time had been sent to New York State to gather recruits. Livingston wrote John Jay, President of the New York Provincial Council, requesting aid to promote Wright's purpose.

On November 7, 1775, Congress ordered commissions to be sent General Schuyler for all officers of Livingston's Regiment who served in Canada.

Major Henry Livingston enlisted a Company at or near Rhinebeck, New York and on August 8, 1775, reported the completion of his quota to the New York Congress where it was on August 12, 1775 read. Here are a few Irish named among those he enlisted—possibly some were Catholics or ought to be so. John Rogers (Corporal), John Moody, M. M'Donnell (drummer), John Rogers, Jr., Ephraim Welsh, James Sullivan, John Flinn, John Casey, Thomas Quinn, Michael W. Carter, David Burns, John Bradie, William Kearney. [*Am. Arch.*, 4 S, 3 v, p. 67].

"We are much in want of clothes, arms, shoes, &c.," he wrote, though supplies were then on their way to him. All he got was a "coat and blanket for each man; no hat, shirt, waistcoat, breeches, stockings or shoes." This "want of clothing" he thought "will oblige many to desert the service who have engaged in it from principle and from the sole view of extracting the country from its present difficulties." [*ibid, p.* 79].

The Major did so well in Canada that on December 11, 1775, the Continental Congress ordered "a Sword, of the value of one hundred dollars be presented to Captain Henry B. Livingston as a testimony of their sense of his services to this country and that they will embrace the first opportunity of promoting him in the Army."—[*ibid* 1950].

On April 15, 1776, the time of about two hundred of Livingston's Canadians expired. "Few if any will reengage," wrote Col. Hazen to General Schuyler, April 1.

Congress August 21, 1776. A Petition from Preudhome la Jeunesse was presented and read and referred to the Board of War. It is in Papers of Congress No. 41, IV, p 376.

The Board reported That the Petition be granted and a Commission be given him to be a Captain of a Company of Canadians, Acadians and French to belong to Col. Livingston's Regiment and to join the army at Ticonderoga as soon as may be.

It was "ordered to lie" (on table). The report, in the writing of Richard Peters is in the Papers of Congress, No. 147, 1, folio 3.

In Congress, August 29, 1776, It being represented by Dr. Benjamin Franklin, one of the late Commissioners to Canada, that Mons. Bernard Mousac de la Marquisie, had a commission given him by the said Commissioner, to be a Captain and Engineer in one of the regiments to be raised there, but that he lost his commission, with his baggage, at Chambly; it was thereupon Resolved that a new commission be granted to him.

At this time also had Col. Moses Hazen, Commander of the Second Canadian Regiment, as well as Colonel Livingston, authority of Congress to enlist men in any of the States. Livingston and Hazen endeavoring to recruit in New York interfered with the filling of the five Battations at Albany and neighborhood so that the Provincial Congress informed Washington that it was owing to this that the delay in completing New York's quota was due.—[*Am. Ar.* 4-3—1221-1264.]

Col. Livingston and his Canadians were at this time in service under General Mongtomery.

On September 28, 1775, General Montgomery wrote General Schuyler.

"Livingston has a considerable body of Canadians in arms; is very active and they have great confidence in him, I believe. I wish to have him taken notice of by Congress, in a manner suitable to his services and the risk he runs."

"Should things not go well I tremble for the fate of the poor Canadians who have ventured so much. What shall I do with them, should we be obliged to evacuate the country? though I hope this will not be the case."—[*Am. Ar.*, 4-3—954.]

Col. James Livingston at Fort Chambly, October 26, '75, demanded from General Montgomery a Court Martial or Court of Inquiry—because of complaints by some Canadians. He had detected two or three in cutting the sails of vessels at St. Johns and many other things belonging to the garrison.

He named Dungan and Maynard as having joined in a damnable scheme to prejudice Montgomery against him.

"As for the Canadians not one of them disapproved of my conduct except a few villainous thieves. It has been my constant study to please them."

After the defeat of Montgomery, Congress on January 20, 1776,

resolved to raise two Regiments of Canadians. That appears to have meant that all the Canadians now in the service should be the nucleus of two Regiments under Livingston and Hazen who already were Colonels and that endeavors should be made to fill up the quota of four Battalions in each Regiment.

Col. Livingston and his Canadians retreated from Canada with the American forces. So many of the Canadians seeing that their country was being abandoned deserted and remained at home.

Livingston, and such Canadians as remained, came to Northern New York. New recruits were obtained wherever possible.

In August 1780, Livingston's Regiment was on duty along the Hudson protecting the passes of King's Ferry and Verplanck's Point. Washington from Peekskill on August 3, 1780, directed "Col. James Livingston to garrison the redoubts at Stony and Verplanck's Point."

Arnold was at this time in command of West Point. Investigation clearly shows that the frustrating of Arnold's treason—the surrender of West Point—was due to the vigilance and prompt and independent action of Col. James Livingston commanding at Velplanck's Point. He had watched passing events with suspicion and questioned the propriety and motive of the flags of truce from the British to Arnold. With seemingly prudent instinct he applied to Major John Lamb for ammunition for the only gun Arnold had forgotten and left with him. He got it September 20, 1780, The next day the gun was tested. It struck the *Vulture*, which had brought Andre to confer with Arnold

This caused the *Vulture* to slip anchor and drop down to Tarrytown. This obliged Andre to travel by land while Arnold escaped on the *Vulture*. Washington arrived on 25th and notified Col. Lamb: "It is my wish to see Col. James Livingston to-night." It is possible that while on duty along the Hudson that Father Lotbiniere, known in Canada as Chaplain of Hazen's Regiment and whose career has been narrated, may have ministered to the Canadians in Livingston's Regiment as well. No evidence of his presence has been found but it is a suggestive inference that while paid by Congress as Chaplain he endeavored to perform such sacerdotal duty as the circumstances permitted though faculties do to so may have been wanting.

After the War, Col. Livingston remained in New York and from 1784 to 1791 was a member of the New York Legislature.

On April 23rd, 1783, the following resolution was passed by Congress:

"*Resolved*, That the memorialist be informed that Congress retains a lively sense of the services the Canadian officers and men have rendered the United States and that they are seriously disposed to reward them for their virtuous sufferings in the cause of liberty.

That they be further informed that whenever Congress can consistently make grants of land they will reward in this way as far as may be consistent the officers, men, and other Refugees from Canada."

On April 13, 1785, the refugees from Nova Scotia were promised "whenever Congress can consistently make grants of land they will reward in this way, as far as may be consistent, the refugees from Nova Scotia as may be disposed to live in the Western Country."

On April 7, 1798, An Act was passed by which the Refugees from Canada and Nova Scotia might present "a just and true account of their claims to the bounty of Congress."

It was not until February 18, 1801, that land was assigned for claimants

When the tract of land to be appropriated was determined upon, it was found that it was located in the then wilderness of central Ohio, unsurveyed and uninhabited and of no known value.

The land set aide by this Act was four and a half miles wide from the line of present Fifth Avenue to Steelton in the city of Columbus, Ohio, north and south, and east from the east bank of the Scioto river about forty-eight miles. It was intended to extend to the west line of the division of land known as the "Seven Ranges," but it was never surveyed that far for refugee purposes. The tract as surveyed for that purpose contained 130,240 acres. The part in Franklin County was all embraced in Montgomery and Truro Townships. These two townships extend from the east bank of the Scioto to the east line of Franklin County and were four and one-half miles wide from north to south. Both of these townships were named by refugee influences; that of Montgomery by Judge Edward C. Livingston, whose father [Col. James Livingston] as has been stated was with General Montgomery when he fell at Quebec and who was a refugee from Canada; and Truro by Robert Taylor who came from Truro, Nova Scotia, and was the fourth settler in Truro Township.—[Edward Livingston Taylor in *The Ohio Arch. His. Q.*, July, 1903.]

"CONGRESS' OWN."

COLONEL MOSES HAZEN'S REGIMENT.

"THE HAND OF PROVIDENCE HAS BEEN SO CONSPICUOUS THAT HE MUST BE WORSE THAN AN INFIDEL WHO LACKS FAITH AND MORE THAN WICKED WHO HAS NOT GRATITUDE ENOUGH TO ACKNOWLEDGE HIS OBLIGATION" WASHINGTON TO GEN. NELSON, FROM WHITE PLAINS AUG. 21ST. 1778. [Writings Vol. VI. p. 36.]

The "SECOND REGIMENT" of Canadians was commanded by Col. Moses Hazen. It was formed in pursuance of the authority of Congress, January 20th, 1776, though under way prior to that date. On January 22nd, 1776, Congress elected Hazen Colonel and Edward Antill, Lieutenant Colonel.

Nearly 500 Canadians had enlisted under Hazen and did good service at Chambly and St. John's at which many Canadians were taken prisoners. On the evacuation of Canada the Regiment had so much decreased that on its arrival at Albany, in August 1776, it had been reduced to about one hundred men—yet "calling it a Regiment." Hazen and Antill came to Congress sitting at Philadelphia, and reported the condition of the Command. It was agreed to continue the "Regiment" on its old foundation but to enlist recruits from any state. Col. Hazen thereon engaged in recruiting service in New York State, while Lieut. Col. Antill did like duty throughout New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia.

Col. Mozes Hazen April 1st. 1776 wrote Gen. Schuyler:

"You are not unacquainted with the friendly disposition of the Canadians when General Montgomery first penetrated into the country. The ready assistance which they gave on all occasions, by men, carriages and provisions was most remarkable. Even when he was before Quebec many parishes offered their services in the reduction of that fortress, which was at that time thought unnecessary But his most unfortunate fate, added to other incidents, has

caused such a change in their disposition that we are no more to look upon them as friends, but on the contrary, waiting an opportunity to join our enemies. That no observation of my own may remain obscure, I beg leave to observe that I think the clergy, or guardians of the Souls and the conductors of the bodies of these enthusiasts have been neglected, perhaps in some instance ill used. Be that as it may, they are unanimously (though privately) against our cause, and I have too much reason to fear many of them, with other people of some consequence, have carried on a correspondence the whole winter with General Carleton, in Quebec, and are now plotting our destruction. The peasantry, in general, have been ill used. They have, in some instances, been dragooned, at the point of the bayonet, to furnish wood for the garrison at lower rates than the current price, also carriages and many other articles furnished. Certificate given not legible, with only half a signature and of consequence rejected by the Quarter Master General. It is true they are promised payment from time to time, yet they look upon such promises as vague, their labor and property lost, and the Congress or United Colonies bankrupt; and in a more material point, they have not seen a sufficient force in the country to protect them."
[*Lossing's Life of Schuyler* 1—46.]

On 15th April the Soldiers who wintered in this country will be free and in my opinion, neither art, craft or money will prevail on many to reenlist to serve in Canada.

Col. Livingston's regiment consisting of about 200 Canadians will be free on the same day. Very few of them if any will reengage.

Hazen wrote "of my intended Regiment I have about 250."

General Schuyler wrote to Washington from Fort George, April 27, 1776:

The licentiousness of our troops both in Canada and in this quarter is not easily to be described nor have all my efforts been able to put a stop to the scandalous extremes.

The Commissioners sent by Congress to Canada wrote Congress on the deplorable condition of the army in Canada—no money—or credit; "our enemies take advantage of their distress, to make us look contemptible in the eyes of the Canadians, who have been provoked by the violence of our military in exacting provisions and services from them without pay. A conduct towards a people who suffered us to enter their country as friends, that the more urgent necessity

can scarce excuse, since it has contributed much to the change in their good disposition towards us into enmity and makes them wish our departure

In Congress July 30th, 1776. *Resolved:* That General Schuyler be desired to enquire into the conduct of Colonel Hazen, who is charged with having beaten and ill-treated Francis Cuillot de la Rose, a continental Captain of Canadian Militia, and also to have ill-treated Charles Robert de la Fontaine, a Canadian, at Champly, and put such conduct into a proper channel for trial and punishment.

A letter of Colonel Hazen dated Montreal 20th, April 1776, relates the situation at that time.

MONTREAL, 20th April, 1776

I have your letter of the 10th, current by Gen. Arnold. Am sorry to hear of your ill-luck in recruiting. You have long since heard of Mr. Goddard Walker's and Lorrimer's exit. The last mentioned rascal was at the Cedars with your batteaus and a party of soldiers from Auswegatin enlisting men and stirring up the Indians to cut our throats here assuring them that eight hundred Indians with the garrison of Detroit, Niagara, etc., together with all the French Inhabitants in that country,would be at the Cedars in twenty days from that time, which has caused great convulsions in that part of the country. Indeed, there is nothing but plotting and preparations making against us throughout the whole district. The Priests are at the bottom. I have good intelligence, and you may depend upon what I say to be a fact. Mr. Lorrimer has returned with his batteaux laden with provisions. On this information I ordered Col. Birle, with a detachment of his regiment, who was then just arrived at St. John's, to march immediately and take post at the Cedars, intending also to establish another at Carringnon. Gen. Arnold soon after arrived, and much approved of this measure, as it will totally cut off all communication with the upper country.

I have been very attentive in my endeavors to secure the Indian nations at Caughnawago, Canasedage, St. Regis and St. Francois in our favor, and hope we shall succeed. Indeed, I have so far as to induce the Caughnawago tribe to call together the heads of those other nations in General Congress. We must, at any rate, have them in our interest, after which we shall have nothing to fear from the upper country. Frobisher is returned. His business is referred to a Committee of Congress, who is supposed now to be at Fort George. Gen.

Thomas is said to be at or near that place on his way to take command in Canada. Gen. Howe, with his whole army, has left Boston. You will remember my remarks to Congress with respect to this matter. We have no certain accounts of Lake George being open, but I take it for granted that it is before this, consequently the arrival of our army before Quebec will depend on wind and weather, as is all water carriage. You cannot now expect them at Quebec before the 5th or 10th of May. Gen. Wooster has ordered me to join him at Quebec with the handful of men I have, calling it a regiment, not considering I am sure the situation I am in, a sample of it you see by Brandinoor's company, when nine out of twenty-two deserted on their way down. It will not do to break faith with the Canadians, and I know it is impossible to march from this until they are paid. Indeed, in all appearance, it has been in all difficulty that I have prevailed on them thus far to their duty, in which "Sier Floquette" has assisted by giving them absolution when every priest in the country refused. He has now the name of My Chaplain.

I have neccessary intelligence thro' that quarter. Indeed, I have laid myself out for it, and believe I have got what may be depended upon. A stroke must by and by be struck here. I only wanted force to put it into execution before this. I have been free in revealing secrets. Your prudence will manage them in a proper manner.

Yours, etc., etc., etc.,

MOSES HAZEN.

Canadian Archives, *Haldimand Papers*, B. Page 398.

In Congress September 24th, 1776.

Committee on petition of Colonel Hazen reported, the same as taken into consideration Whereupon RESOLVED

That Colonel Hazen and Lieutenant Colonel Antill be continued in their offices, in the army of the United States and that they recruit their regiment to the number of a battalion on the Continental establishment. That the settlement of Colonel Hazen's accounts of monies advanced by him for the service of the United States in Canada be referred to the Commissioners appointed to audit the northern department. That one thousand and ninety-five dollars be paid to Colonel Hazen, in full satisfaction for his neat cattle, sheep, swine, poultry, hay and other articles alleged to have been taken and used for the benefit of the Continental army near St. John's; which sum, together with 533⅓ dollars already received by him of

the said articles, as estimated by commissioners appointed by General Wooster for that purpose pursuant to an order of Congress: That the damages done to his buildings, farms &c. by our troops or those of the enemy, ought not to be paid, unless general provision be made for compensating all others, who, by means of war, have, in like manner, been damnified, which may be a subject to be considered after the close of the war.

PENNSYLVANIANS IN HAZEN'S REGIMENT.

Under authority to recruit in any State Col. Hazen's Regiment, by December 29th 1779, had obtained 153 Pennsylvanians. Among them were the following of Irish-Catholic names. All may not have been of the faith their names imply, but others, of not so distinctively Irish-Catholic names though they may have been Catholics, do not appear on the list.

Edward Bradley enlisted February 19th 1777. Wounded at Germantown; discharged April 23d 1782. Died at Carlisle February 7th 1786, leaving a widow Sarah. Daniel McAuley resided at Mechlenberg Co., North Carolina, in 1834. That being a strong Presbyterian Settlement; Daniel may have been one of them and not one of Ours. Hugh Barnett. Dennis Bohan, enlisted April 13th 1777. Dennis Brian, transferred to the sappers and miners; James Carroll; John Demullen (may have been John D.); Edward Dougherty, December 14th 1776. So he may have joined in Canada. Daniel Duff, April 17th 1777; Richard Ennis, April 16, 1777; William Fitzgibbon; James Gibbon; David Gray; Joseph Hannegan, died in Indiana March, 1833; James Hayes, March 1, 1777, discharged 1781, resided in York Co., in 1808; Michael Hilands, March 2d 1777, died November 13, 1780; James Hughes, November 15, 1776. So he too may have joined in Canada. He was transferred to Washington's Guard; David Kelly; Robert Kelly, Timothy Kelly, January 18, 1777; Michael Leary, March 29, 1777; Hugh Lizzey; Stephen Lyon, December 12, 1776. So he may have joined in Canada. Arthur Martin, March 29, 1777; John Martin; Samuel Martin; Moses McCann; Thomas McClean; Hugh McClelland; John McClelland; Charles McCune; Owen McGlaughlin; Patrick McGlaughlin; James McMullen; John McNeal; Michael Mitchell; James Norton, June 9, 1777, resided in Lancaster Co., Pa. in 1835, age 99. William Norton, June 5th, 1777, resided in Columbia Co., Pa., in 1835 age 100. Most likely they were brothers. Dennis O'Brien, Oct. 7,1776—perhaps a recruit in Canada;

Morris Roach; James Shields, May 26, 1777, wounded and discharged 1783, resided in Blacklist Township, Indiana Co., in 1835, age 90. John Sweeney, taken prisoner at Brandywine and escaped. Edward Thompson; Michael Traynor, December 6, 1776; Thomas Welsh. [Pa. Archives, Pa. in Rev. Vol. 11]

A company under command of Captain Burns was in December 1776 stationed at Chester, Pa. Under date of December 24th, he advertised a list of deserters offering ten dollars reward for the capture of each. [Pa. Gaz.] Among the deserters were James McDonald, James Rogers, James Brinck, Patrick Bradley, Nicholas Still, William Wilson, Jomes Robinson, In the *Pennsylvania Journal*, March 26, 1777, eight deserters from Hazen's Regiment are advertised. Seven are described as "natives of Ireland." Ten dollars over the reward given by Congress was offered for their capture.

On November 29th 1779, Colonel Hazen sent a Memorial to General Washington from Peekskill, New York, stating that the Regiment was raised by order of Congress January 20th 1776, to comprise four battalions of 250 men; that 477 men were enlisted; that want of money to pay the bounty prevented the Regiment being filled up at that time and in that country; that the Regiment has been employed in hard services in the course of the contest; a part of it was at the blockade and assault of Quebec; that part of the officers and men raised in Canada retreated with General Sullivan's army on June 17th 1776, from Canada; that on October 23rd 1776, congress ordered the Regiment to be kept on original foundation and to be recruited; that it entered the campaign of 1777 with 720 men; that it was with General Sullivan in the action at Staten Island, August 22d, 1777; at Brandywine 11th September and at Germantown October 4th following, "in all of which it acquitted itself with honor and was in the last engagement amongst the troops that were rewarded with your Excellency's Thanks;" that in these three engagements it lost in killed, wounded and taken prisoners, 15 commissioned officers and 133 non-commissioned officers and men.

The Regiment was recruited from Canada to North Carolina; that Congress, March 15th, 1779, had ordered that the several States be given credit for these recruits; that the Regiment had 16 officers and 111 non-commissioned officers and privates from Canada for whom no kind of provision had been made; that the Canadian soldiers are not inferior to any in the Regiment, in point

of Morality, Bravery, or attachment to the cause and services in which they are engaged; a proof of which is one Canadian only has deserted since the Regiment retreated out of Canada, nine different detachments were sent into that Country the last Summer for intelligence and the greatest part of the other Canadians in sight of and not more than one day's march from their own country, families, friends, connections and estates.

There are now 471 non-commissioned officers and privates on the muster-roll; 460 enlisted on twenty dollars bounty; not a man has received either town or State bounty. It is as good a corps as any in the army.

Colonel Hazen sought to have his command placed under an establishment by which they could enjoy the same rights as other commands.

He closed by saying: It is hoped and really wished for that the period may not be too far off when this Regiment may be adopted by their own the Fourteenth State in America, "meaning thereby the hope that Canada would soon be joined with the Thirteen other States. [Pa. Ar. 2d S-8-17-19.]

When, in 1778, it was designed to send an expedition of 5000 men under Lafayette into Canada, he, January 26, 1778, wrote Henry Laurens, President of Congress, then at York, Pa., he mentioning Regiments that would probably be in the invading force, "and above all Col. Hazen, with his Canadians, are, I believe, to fill up the list." [*So. Car. His. Mag.*, VII, p 128.]

Lafayette added: "Amongst Canadians, I shall be obliged to francise myself and speak much about the French blood to gain the heart of the Canadians."—[*Ibid.*]

On October 5, 6 and 7, 1781, Father Ferdinand Farmer of Philadelphia, was at Fishkill, New York. During these days he baptized fourteen "children and infants." He also blessed the marriages of "a son of Joseph and Mary Ursula [Enbair] Chartier and Mary, daughter of James and Mary Frances [Chandron] Robinet, and Francis Guilmet and Mary Frances Chandron. [*Registers at St. Joseph's Records. A. C. H. S.* 11, p 305.]

These were undoubtedly Canadians of the encampment of "Congress' Own" The Marquis de Chastellux visited Fishkill, Decem ber 21, 1780. Her elates that four or five miles away in the woods was a camp of "some hundreds of invalid soldiers"—but "it was their clothes

were truly invalid. These honest fellows were not covered even with rags; but their steady countenances and their arms in good order seemed to supply the defects of clothes and to display nothing but their courage and their patience."—[*Travels* II].

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS.

The New York Provincial Congress on June 2, 1775, issued an Address to the Inhabitants of Quebec in which it was said:

"The Parent of the universe has divided this earth among the children of men and drawn out the line of their habitations. The great God having ordained that all our joys and sorrows here below should proceed from the effect of human actions upon human beings, our situation has drawn together this great bond of natural dependence, and enabled us to deal out injuries and kindness to each other. We consider you as our friends and feel for you the affection of brothers.* * *

"Avoid those measures which must plunge us both into distress, and instead of consenting to become miserable slaves, generously dare to participate with your fellow subjects in the sweets of that security which is the glorious lot of freedom."—[*Am. Ar.*, 4 S., Vol. 2, p 893].

General Mooers, who died February 18th 1783, aged eighty years was adjutant of Col. Hazen's Regiment. In July 1783 with ten men, eight being Canadians, went to Point au Roche, Canada. The British held Point au Fair at the north end of Grand Isle opposite Point au Roche. Col. Hazen arrived there in September 1783.

After the disbandment of the Army the Acts of Congress relative to the services of Canadians applied, of course, to Col. Hazen's Regiment as well as the Col. Livingston's.

WASHINGTON DIRECTS THAT THE RELIGION OF THE CANADIANS BE RESPECTED AND PROTECTED AND NO CONTEMPT OR RIDICULE BE SHOWN ITS CEREMONIES OR MINISTERS.

Among Washington's instructions to Arnold on his departure on the expedition to Canada was this:

14. As the contempt of the religion of a country by ridiculing any of its ceremonies, or affronting its ministers or votaries, has ever been deeply resented, you are to be particularly careful to restrain every officer and soldier from such imprudence and folly, and to punish every instance of it. On the other hand, as far as lies in your power, you are to protect and support the free exercises of the religion of the country, and the undisturbed enjoyment of the rights of conscience in religious matters, with your utmost influences and authority.

Given under my hand, at headquarters, Cambridge, the 14th day of September, 1775.

WASHINGTON'S ADDRESS TO THE CANADIANS.

The following ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF CANADA was issued by General Washington from Cambridge, Mass., on the setting out of General Arnold's expedition to Canada. It was printed in French and in English for distribution in that country.

By his Excellency GEORGE WASHINGTON, *Esquire, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United Colonies of* NORTH-AMERICA.

To the Inhabitants of CANADA:

FRIENDS AND BRETHREN: The unnatural contest between the *English* Colonies and *Great Britain* has now risen to such a height, that arms alone must decide it. The Colonies, confiding in the justice of their cause and the purity of their intentions, have reluctantly appealed to that Being in whose hands are all human events. He has hitherto smiled upon their virtuous efforts. The hand of tyranny has been arrested in its ravages, and the *British* arms, which have shone so much splendor in every part of the globe, are now tarnished with disgrace and disappointment. Generals of approved experience, who boasted of subduing this great Continent, find themselves circumscribed within the limits of a single City and its suburbs, suffering all the shame and distress of a siege, while the freeborn sons of *America*, animated by the genuine principles of liberty and love of their Country, with increasing union, firmness, and discipline, repel every

attack, and despise every danger. Above all, we rejoice that our enemies have been deceived with regard to you; they have persuaded themselves, they have even dared to say, that the *Canadians* were not capable of distinguishing between the blessings of liberty and the wretchedness of slavery; that gratifying the vanity of a little circle of nobility would blind the eyes of the people of *Canada*; by such artifices they hoped to bend you to their views, but they have been deceived; instead of finding in you that poverty of soul and baseness of spirit, they see with a chagrin equal to our joy, that you are enlightened, generous, and virtuous; that you will not renounce your own rights, or serve as instruments to deprive your fellow-subjects of theirs.

Come, then, my brethren, unite with us in an indissoluble union; let us run together to the same goal. We have taken up arms in defence of our liberty, our property, our wives, and our children; we are determined to preserve them or die. We look forward with pleasure to that day, not far remote, we hope, when the inhabitants of *America* shall have one sentiment, and the full enjoyment of the blessings of a free Government. Incited by these motives, and encouraged by the advice of many friends of liberty among you, the grand *American* Congress have sent an Army into your Province, under the command of General *Schuyler*, not to plunder, but to protect you; to animate and bring forth into action those sentiments of freedom you have disclosed, and which the tools of despotism would extinguish through the whole creation. To co-operate with this design, and to frustrate those cruel and perfidious schemes which would deluge our frontiers with the blood of women and children, I have detached Colonel *Arnold* into your Country, with a part of the Army under my command. I have enjoined upon him, and I am certain that he will consider himself, and act as in the Country of his patrons and best friends. Necessaries and accommodations of every kind which you may furnish he will thankfully receive, and render the full value. I invite you, therefore, as friends and brethren, to provide him with such supplies as your Country affords; and I pledge myself not only for your safety and security, but for ample compensation. Let no man desert his habitation. Let no one flee as before an enemy. The cause of *America* and of liberty is the cause of every virtuous *American* citizen, whatever may be his religion or his descent. The United Colonies know no distinction but such as slavery, corruption, and

arbitrary domination, may create. Come, then, ye generous citizens, range yourselves under the standard of general liberty, against which all the force and artifice of tyranny will never be able to prevail.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

(*Am. Ar.*, 4 Se., 3 vol., p. 764).

This address issued in September, 1775, when Arnold's expedition went to Canada.

WASHINGTON REBUKES INSULT TO CANADIAN CATHOLICS AND ACCORDS PUBLIC THANKS TO "OUR BRETHREN" FOR THEIR SERVICES.

The soldiers of Washington's army near Boston in 1775 prepared to celebrate "POPE DAY" November 5, to commemorate the alleged Gunpowder Plot.

The General issued this order dated that day:

As the commander-in-chief has been apprised of a design formed for the observance of that ridiculous and childish custom of burning the effigy of the Pope, he can not help expressing his surprise that there should be officers and soldiers in his army so void of common sense as not to see the impropriety of such a step.

At such a juncture and in such circumstances, to be insulting their religion is so monstrous as not to be suffered or excused; indeed, instead of offering the most remote insult, it is our duty to address public thanks to these our brethren, as to them we are so much indebted for every late happy success over the common enemy in Canada.

ADDRESS OF THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS AT NEW YORK TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC, 1775.

[*MS.* Canadian Archives, Series Q. Vol. 11,p. 233.]

In Provincial Congress,

NEW YORK, June 2d, 1775.

Friends and Countrymen,

The parent of the Universe, hath divided this Earth among the children of men, and drawn out the line of their habitations. This great God, having ordained that all our joys and sorrows here below

should proceed from the effect of human actions, upon human beings, our situation has drawn together this great bond of mutual dependence and enabled us to deal out injuries and kindness to each other. We consider you as our friends, and we feel for you the affection of Brothers.

The great question between Britian and her Colonies, is, whether they are subjects or whether they are slaves.

The rights delivered down to us by our forefathers, the venerable Laws of our Country, have subjected our own property to our own disposal, nor hath any earthly power a right to take it away. Mankind ought to be governed by the dictates of Justice, and not by the hand of oppression. The peaceable enjoyment of what we yet call our own, and that Liberty, which confers on every man the right of adoring his God in the manner which he humbly thinks most agreeable to the divine nature; these are the objects of all our labors and of all our cares.

Ministerial tyranny hath endeavoured throughout all these Colonies to rend from us the dearest rights of humanity, and in the defense of those rights, some persons have taken certain forts in this Colony, which are near your Frontiers.

We have heard that others have made an attack upon the Post of St. John's, an attempt without our Council or participation, and altho' we have taken measures for the defense of our own Fortress, yet our only Intention is, to prevent any hostile incursions upon, by the Troops in your Province .

Confident that the enemies of our King and his people will take every opportunity to excite Jealousies and discord amongst us, we beseech you not to be imposed on by their artifices, but call to your remembrance the complicated horrors of a barbarous war, avoid those measures which must plunge us both into distress, and instead of consenting to become miserable slaves generally dare to participate with your fellow subjects, in the sweets of that security, which is the glorious lot of Freedom,.

We are with sincere affection,

Your brethren and friends,

P. B. V. LIVINGSTON, *Presid't.*

THE CATHOLIC SCOTCH LOYALISTS OF "THE BACK SETTLEMENTS OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK." PETITION OF REV. RODERICK MacDONELL TO BE APPOINTED "AS THEIR CLERGYMAN" AT "THEIR NEW SETTLEMENT" IN CANADA, 1785.

[Canadian Archives, Series Q. Vol. 24, p. 279.]

WHITEHALL, 24 June, 1785.

Lieut. Gov. Hamilton, Quebec.

Sir:

Having laid before the King a memorial of Mr. Roderick Mac Donell, stating that at the solicitation of a considerable number of Scots Highlanders, and other British subjects of the Roman Catholick Persuasion, who, prior to the last war, were Inhabitants of the Back Settlements of the Province of New York, and to whom in consideration of their Loyalty and services, Lands have been lately assigned in the higher parts of Canada, he is desirous of joining them in order to serve them in the capacity af a clergyman, in the humble hope that, on his arrival at their Settlement he shall be allowed by Government an annual subsistence for the Discharge of that Duty. I enclose to you the said Memorial, and am to signify to you the King's Commands that you do permit Mr. MacDonell to join the aforementioned Settlers, and officiate as their clergyman; and with respect to the allowance to be made to him, I shall take an early opportunity of communicating to you His Majesty's Pleasure.

I am &c.,

SYDNEY.

MEMORIAL OF RODERICK MacDONELL.

[Canadian Archives, Series Q. Vol. 24, p. 280.]

The Memorial of Mr. Roderick MacDonell

Most Humbly Sheweth,

That a considerable number of Scots Highlanders, and other British Natives, who, prior to the last war, were inhabitants of the Back Settlements of the Province of New York, adhering strictly to their Duty and Allegiance, until, being unsupported, they were overwhelmed by the numbers of the enemy, then retiring through the woods to Canada, they served in the 84th Royal Yorkers, and other Regts upon the different expeditions from that Province until the peace, as Sir Guy Carleton, Lieutenant General Haldimand,

Brigadier Gen. Maclean, Sir John Johnson and other officers can testify.

Yet on June 27th the same Provincial Congress declared:

As the free enjoyment of the rights of Conscience is of all others the most valuable branch of human liberty, and the indulgence and establishment of Popery along all the interior confines of the old Protestant Colonies tends not only to obstruct their growth, but to weaken their security, that neither the Parliament of Great Britain nor any other earthly legislature or tribunal, ought or can of right interfere or interpose in any wise howsoever in the religious and ecclesiastical concern of the Colonies. [Amar. 4S. 2 Vol. p. 1327]

This resolution had been under debate on June 12th. It was then adopted as part of a plan of Accommodation with Great Britain, by which peace would be secured. The vote was 18 for and 9 against.

COLONEL MORGAN CONNOR AND OTHERS, IN PENNSYLVANIA, DURING THE REVOLUTION.

Martin I. J. Griffin, Esq.,
Philadelphia.

My dear Sir:

In your note of the 11th instant, you ask—Who was the Morgan Connor Adjutant General on the 8th of May 1777, who then issued the order of General Washington against Gaming?—Answer: He was the same person who, in 1773, was living in Douglass Township, Berks County, Pennsylvania, and is rated on its Tax List as a "single man." The next year, I find he had a warrant for Three Hundred Acres of land in Turbut Township, Northumberland County, Penna. In 1775, July 17th, he was commissioned 1st Lieutenant in Captain George Nagel's company of Riflemen raised in Reading, Berks Co. Penna. Commissioned Captain on January the 5th, 1776; March 9th, called from camp by Congress and sent into the Southern Department and appointed Brigade Major to General Armstrong, in South Carolina; May 8th, 1777, as Adjutant General, issued Washington's orders against gaming, as you mention above. In line rank he was Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the 7th Pennsylvania Regiment.

Morgan Connor (O'Connor in full) served with credit from the opening of the Revolutionary war down to some time in the year 1779, when having fallen into ill health, he was forced to request

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sick-leave, which being granted, he started on a voyage to the West Indies from which he never returned, as the ship was lost at sea. This untimely death alone prevented his further promotion, for it is evident that he was a man of good parts—native and acquired; in a letter, to President Reed, of Pennsylvania, dated Sept. 5th, 1780, General Arthur St. Clair thus speaks of him—"I entirely agree with you about Colonel Connor***he was a Person esteemed by all his acquaintances, and allowed to be a very deserving officer."

Letters of Administrations in the estate of Lt. Colonel Morgan O'Connor (in which his surname is spelled "Conner," a variant in frequent use) were granted to Dennis McCarthy, Sept. 8th, 1780 (Vol. 1, p. 31, No. 47. Reg. of Wills Office, Phila.)—Dennis McCarthy and Bryan O'Hara, with Patrick Byrne, give bond to the amount of three thousand pounds.—D. McC. charges expenses to Yorktown and Cumberland "in transacting business for deceased:" since there were Connors living in both York and Cumberland, Penna., the mention of those place-names by McCarthy is very suggestive; in short, I infer that his visits may have been to those Connors, as relatives and co-heirs of the late Colonel. "York Town" was an old designation for York the present city of York County, Penna.

In the 2d Session of the 11th Congress the heirs of the said Lt. Colonel Morgan Connor petitioned for arrears of pay said to be due him at the time of his death (Journal, p. 176); in 1810, Jan. 31st, the Committee on Claims reported adversely and the matter seems to have been dropped—who were these heirs? probably mere collaterals; but if their names could be discovered, the particular family of O'Connor to which Morgan belonged might be revealed with certainty.

You also ask if Morgan Connor was a Catholic: I think he was, otherwise could he have been godfather to the children of Catholics? —that (godfather) he certainly was although by proxy, his absence with the army preventing his presence at the christening in St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia;—I give below the entries from the church's Baptismal Register for the years 1776 and 1777 as printed on pp. 237 and 239, Vol. 2, "American Catholic Historical Society's Records."

"A. D. 1776,—Cullen, Thomas, of Thomas and Sabina Cullen, born November 7th, baptized November 18th, sponsor Michael Connor (for Morgan Connor), at Pottsgrove." (Now Pottstown, Pa.)

"A. D. 1777—Connor, John of Michael and Mary Connor, born Feburary 19th, baptized March 5th, sponsor John Cotringer(for Morgan Connor) and Catharine Cotringer."—The child John, afterwards known as John M. Connor (the "M" standing for Michael or Morgan as I suppose; but I know not which) lived in Philadelphia, dying about the year 1830. That the Morgan Connor of the church entries was he of the Continental Army need not be doubted; for besides the evidence to that effect afforded by the necessity of employing a proxy, noted above, I will state that the said officer is the only *Morgan* Connor that I have found mentioned in any of the various records of Provincial Pennsylvania.—As for Michael Connor, the father of John, he was the Loyalist of that name whose estate was confiscated in the Revolution.—Referring to his last male descendant the above John (otherwise John M. Connor, who died in or about 1830, as stated before), I will mention that his portrait, painted by the artist Neagle, was in the possession of his (J. M. C.'s) relative Miss Mary King Lenthall, of Washington, with one, also of John's sister Anna Maria, Mrs Joseph Eck; I saw these likenesses in 1885. The portraits are remarkable, for each one gives a distinct Irish type occurring in children of the same parentage—remarkable yet not very infrequent, as I have observed; viz., the florid, and the dark, Gaelic Celt. John is fair, blue-eyed and ruddy, while his sister is pale, black-eyed and black-haired. In expression the man is affable, gracious; the woman grave to sternness.

Judging from the church entries given, I infer that Colonel Morgan Connor must have been a friend of Michael Connor and, probably, a kinsman; but, as to the latter, I have no proof.

Both men are interesting characters in the Philadelphia of Revolutionary times, standing as each did for one and the other of the two great principles that divided the people—Michael for Royalty, Morgan for Republicanism.

Believe me, very truly yours.

PHILIP S. P. CONNER.

Member Penna. Historical Society, American Catholic Historical Society, and Penna. Genealogical Society of Philadelphia.

Rowlandsville, Cecil County, Maryland.
June 18th, 1906.

Mr. Conner is the son of Commodore D. Conner, Commander of the Home Squadron in the war with Mexico.

CANADIANS ON SECRET SERVICE FOR WASHINGTON.

In 1779-80, an expedition for the invasion of Canada with an army under Lafayette was projected. To gain information of the condition of Canada, the sentiments of the people and the possibilities of success, Canadians of Col. Moses Hazen's regiment were sent into Canada. From the papers of General Washington, we discover that these agents, or spies, were Captain Clement Gosselin, Lieut. John Goulet, Privates Pierre Cadieux, who went twice, and Noel Belonge, who made three trips. All were of the Second Regiment of CONGRESS' OWN, originally composed of Canadians.

CAPTAIN CLEMENT GOSSELIN.

On July 3, 1780, Captain Gosselin, of Col. Hazen's Regiment, and seven men started from Preakness, N. J., on a tour of observation in Canada to obtain information. They returned in September and reported to General Jacob Bayley, commanding the New York militia, then at Newbury, Vermont. He, on September 7th, reported to Washington, then at Steenrapie, N. J., that "Capt. Gosselin and party had returned from their hazardous tour and will deliver information in person; he believes them truthful; thinks no time should be lost in securing Upper Canada; can hardly expect to take Quebec this year; occupation of the Three River districts and Montreal will secure supplies for a spring campaign against Quebec; passage way through St. John's could be had for heavy artillery; can keep that part of the country if arms for the inhabitants can be found; then if peace comes will have some claim against the Quebec Bill; present is the best time for action; every support for an army is here; people are free to advance provisions and personal services; enemy have small parties out, but alertness of inhabitants prevents them from doing much damage.

Captain Gosselin, in January, 1781, reported to Washington from New Windsor, N. Y., regarding conditions in Canada; 4200 troops in Canada; 1800 English; 1200 Germans and 1200 Tories, located at Point Levis; 2000 at Quebec, and remainder between Quebec and Isle de Noix; he described the defences of Quebec and Point Levis; transportation facilities; available supplies; landing

of troops; majority in Canada favor French and Americans; except English, well disposed toward America; Indians may be won through Jean Vincent, chief of the Hurons; Montgomery's example may be followed.

On January 18, 1781, Captain Gosselin certified to Washington that Pierre Cayen (Cadieux), a volunteer, had, in execution of orders from Washington, done his duty honestly and in good faith.

On May 2, 1781, Capt. Gosselin, then at New Windsor, N. Y., wrote Gen. Bayley, then at Fishkill, that he had no wish to receive more money than will compensate him for actual expenses of his Canadian trip; the honor and privilege of serving a noble cause are sufficient reward for his own services; for the money he advanced it is only just that he should be compensated; presents account of his expenses incurred on the expedition.

This amounted to $305, Continental currency, covering expenses of himself and seven men since leaving Preakness, July 3, 1780.

In General Edward Hand's report to Washington of the killed and wounded at the siege of Yorktown, Virginia, from Sept. 28th to Oct. 14th, 1781, appears the name of Capt. Gosselin, of Col. Hazen's regiment.

A genealogy of the Gosselin family of the Island of Orleans will be found in *Report* of Canadian Archives, for 1905, Vol. II, pp. 162-168.

Major Edmond Mallet of Washington, D. C., in *The U. S. Catholic Historical Magazine*, Vol. II, p. 177, gives the following information:

Clement Gosselin, son of Gabriel Gosselin and Genevieve Crépeau, was born at Sainte Famillei, on Isle Orleans, Province of Quebec, June 12, 1747.

In 1770 he married, at Sainte Annede la Pocatiere, Marie Beure Dionne, daughter of Germain Dionne and Marie Louise Bernier. He had been previously married to Charlotte Monilmete, then deceased. In 1791, he married Catherine Monty, by whom he had issue, a daughter, baptized September 20, 1804.

Among those who offered their services to General Montgomery was Gosselin, who soon had an opportunity of showing his devotion to the American cause at the Battle of Riviere du Sud, when the Seigneur de Beaugen, who was hastening to the relief of Quebec with a strong detachment of Canadians, was entirely routed by a squad

of Americans and Canadians. Gosselin, taken prisoner, was confined at Quebec till the spring of 1778. He struck through the woods, and kept down the Connecticut River with his brother, Louis Gosselin, and his father-in-law, Germaine Dionne, and an Indian guide. He joined Washington's army at White Plains, New York. He was commissioned Captain of a Company in Hazen's Regiment.

Washington confided several important secret commissions to him. He traversed Canada in 1870, entering by way of Lake Champlain and Richelieu River and returning through the uninhabited woods of Maine.

At the battle of Yorktown, Hazen's Regiment was reduced to 250 men. Captain Gosselin was wounded. When, in 1783, the army disbanded he was appointed Major and honorably discharged.

After the war he and hundreds of Canadians received certificates for land in the vincinity of Lake Champlain. In 1789 he sold 1000 acres in Champlain Town to James Rouse.

On November 8, 1791, Major Gosselin married Marie Catherine Monty, daughter of Francis Monty, an officer in Livingston's Regiment of "CONGRESS' OWN."

The marriage was at Chazy, before James Murdock McPherson, a Justice of the Peace. Wishing to have the marriage blessed by the Church, he had this done May 12, 1792, by dispensation, granted April 5th, by Rev. J. B. Dorouray at St. Hyacinthe, Canada. He returned to the valley of Lake Champlain and died, March 9, 1816.

PRIVATE PIERRE CADIEUX.

Cadieux was a private in Hazen's regiment. On January 17, 1781, from De-hoe-pointe (near West Point) he sent a petition to Lafayette stating that he had been selected to make a trip to Canada on public service, to obtain information; went under command of a Lieutenant of his regiment, making the trip in winter; another journey for the same purpose made under command of Capt. Clement Gosselin; for neither of these expeditions did he receive any compensation and begs the General to aid his endeavors to obtain the amount due.

He and Goulet left for Canada, August 10, 1779, to carry the news of the declaration of the French King.

Ensign Amable had received orders from Washington and Lafayette to go to Canada for information, but being taken sick, August 5th, had to remain by the River St. Lawrence. Goulet went in his stead. Goulet spent 3 louis on the expedition. In October, 1780, Goulet and Cadieux went on an expedition from Coos, N. H., to Albany, taking nine days, costing for provisions seven "piastres." On the expedition in August, 1779, Goulet supplied 30 livres, which had not been repaid up to October, 1780.

Of Noel Belonge, who made three secret trips to Canada, no other information appears among the Papers of Washington.

LIEUT. JOHN GOULET.

Lieut. John Goulet, of Col. Hazen's regiment, entered Canada four times seeking information for Washington.

August 10, 1779, Goulet and Pierre Cadieux left for Canada to carry the news of the declaration of the French King. Lieut. A. Ferrio went to the parishes of St. Charles and St. Denis, and in October, 1780, certified that Goulet furnished 30 livres, which had not been repaid.

October 19, 1779, Brigadier Gen. Jacob Bayley, at Newbury, Vermont, gave instructions to Lieut. John Goulet to take two men and proceed to Canada; to capture some British soldier and deliver him to Bayley or the commanding officer at Upper Coos, N. H. Was instructed to kill no person except in self-defence and to avoid disturbing the people.

In January, 1781, when at Fishkill, N. Y., Goulet sent petition to Washington, then at Morristown, N. J., stating that he was a refu-

gee from Canada after the fall of General Montgomery; that he has been employed with Capt. Clement Gosselin and Lieut. Amable Boileau for 2½ years in gathering information in Canada and has received no pay; his family have suffered heavily since the retreat; his house has been plundered and his papers burnt; prays that the matter be taken into consideration and justice done him. (p 169).

Among the MSS. of Washington is certificate of Jacob Bayley, brig. general of New York militia, September, 1780, that Lieut. John Goulet had entered Canada four times for information and that Noel Belonge had entered three for the same purpose; that both had behaved with "stability to the United States, and merit the esteem of all Americans, and are now on their way to join their regiments by order of Col. Moses Hazen"—(Cal. Washington Papers, p 162).

LOYAL CANADIAN PRISONERS.

Though there is abundant testimony that at the entrance of the American armies under Generals Schuyler, Montgomery and Arnold into Canada, the people, very generally, welcomed "the Bostonnais" and accorded them the friendship due to those with whom they sympathized. That all this, later, changed was owing to unhappy circumstances. The lack of sympathy upon the part of the Americans with the Canadians because of their religion, the endeavors of the clergy, by command of Bishop Briand, to be faithful to the reigning authority, and the inability of the Americans to hold the country they intended to occupy, are the main causes of the change of heart.

But on the other hand there were many Canadians who from the first were obedient to the lawful authority, civil as well as religious, to which their allegiance was due.

On September 3, 1775, Congress resolved that General Schuyler should be written to concerning the allegation that baggage of the Canadian officers taken at St. John and Chambly had been plundered.

On September 7, 1776, paid—"To Lieutenant Simon Evans, a prisoner sent from Canada to Reading, for expenses from Albany to Reading, and allowance, from February 10th to 23d of August, is twenty-eight weeks, at $2.00 per week, is $56.00.

To Canadian prisoners at Bristol, viz, Mons. St. Ours, Hervieux Heurimont, de Chambault and la Marque, from the 3d of November, 1775, the time they were taken, to the 30th of August, inclusive, is forty-three weeks, each at $2.00 per week, $430.00.

In Congress, September 13, 1776:

The Committee of the Treasury reported that there is due—To Major Regonville, Captain Duchene, Lieutenant Smith, and Lieutenant Demuraux, Canadian prisoners, for their allowance from November 3, 1775, to September 6, 1776, inclusive, is forty-four weeks, at $2.00 a week, is $352, and that the same be paid to Mons. Regonville.

In Congress, September 25, 1776:

The Committee on the Treasury reported there is due—To Messrs. St. Luke la Corn, Major Campbell and Captain Frazier, prisoners from Canada, for their allowance, at $2.00 per week each, and for their three servants at $1.00 per week each, from the 8th of July to the 23d of September, 1776, inclusive, being eleven weeks, $90.

Not only were enlisted men made captives, but also women and children. Those taken by General Schuyler were, in October and November, 1775, brought to New York City, thence to Amboy, then to Bordentown and from there by the Delaware River to Philadelphia, and from there sent to Reading or other places.—[*Am. Arch.*, 4 *S.*, *Vol.* III-1588].

Many of these were enrolled in the British forces.

At Chambly, October 18, 1775, Major Brown, with 150 Americans and 300 Canadians, made prisoners of eight officers, 73 privates, 35 women and 35 children.—[*Am. Ar.*, III-1207]. They were sent to Hartford, Conn.

St. John was taken November 2, 1775, with 600 prisoners.

These victories caused General Washington, at Cambridge, on November 14, to issue an order:

"The Commander-in-Chief and army will show their gratitude to Providence for thus favoring the cause of Freedom and America and by their thankfulness to God, their zealous perseverance in this righteous cause, continue to deserve future blessings.—[*Am. Ar.* 4, Vol. III—1613].

Many of the prisoners were sent to New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Those sent to Pennsylvania were held at Reading and Bristol. Others sent to Trenton, New Jersey, were there held until the approach of General Washington's army pursued by the British forces under Generals Howe and Cornwallis, when they were sent to Bristol, Pennsylvania.

In Congress, August 7, 1776:

The Board of War reported that there is due to Messrs. Giasson, Hertel and de la Magdelaine, Canadian prisoners at Bristol, for their board and lodging from the 15th of November to the 31st of July, last, being thirty-seven weeks, each at $2.00 per week, the sum of $222, and that the same ought to be paid to John Green, their assignee.

Ordered that the same be paid.

August 10th. Daniel Smith was paid the weekly allowance of prisoners of war. James Hughes, town Major of Montreal and Captain Duncan Campbell, from the 19th of January to the 18th of July, last, is 24 6-7 weeks, at $2.00 a week each, is $99.38.

On October 10, 1776, Congress ordered all inhabitants of Canada held as prisoners of war should be released except St. Luke la Corne and Mons. Rouvillee, the elder, in condition that they sign parole not to take up arms against the United States, or give intelligence to the enemy of these States.—[*Journal VI*-865].

On October 30, the Committee on Treasury reported due to Mons. Pierre Gamelin, a prisoner from Canada, the allowance from March 26, to October 28, thirty-one weeks, $62. To Marcus Lucullus Ryall, nine weeks, $18.

November 8th., the allowance of two dollars a week ordered to be paid Captain Chartier de Lotbinere from November 2, 1775, to 31st of October, 1776, fifty-two weeks, $104. M. Tonancour, the same. M. Dechambault, M. Fleuromont, M. St. Ours, paid from August 31st, to November 8th, ten weeks, $20.—[*ibid*, p 935].

On November 13th, the Committee reported there was due to Mons. La Marque, twenty dollars, to be paid Mons. de la Magdalaine.

On December 6, 1776, the Board of War directed that the prisoners at Bristol be removed from thence back into the country.—[*ibid*, p 1002]. The British and American Armies were approaching and the Trenton campaign coming on, so the safety of the prisoners required their removal.

On December 10, 1776, St. Luke la Corne was paid for himself and servant from September 24th to December 3d.

CONGRESS PERMITS A CANADIAN PRISONER TO GO TO CONFESSION.

Among the Canadians captured by the Americans November 3, 1775, was Major Regonville, "one of the King's Legislative Council." He was brought with others to Trenton, New Jersey. That he was a Catholic—a practical one—is shown by his desire to perform his Christmas duty. He applied to Congress on December 21, 1775, for permission to come to Philadelphia "to confess himself to a Priest." Leave was granted (*Diary of Rich. Smith*). The Journal of Congress adds "and there await the orders of Congress."

Later Major Regonville was removed with others to Bristol, Pa. On September 13, 1776, Congress ordered that he and three others be paid "their allowance from November 3, 1775 to September 6, forty-four weeks at $2.00 a week, or Three hundred fifty-two dollars, all to be paid Regonville."

Regonville had been Major of the Corps of Canadian Militia which General Murray had sent to Upper Canada during the Indian War.—[*Am. Ar.*, 4 S., Vol. II, p 403].

PERE HUGUET.

Edward Foy, D. A. G., wrote to General Maclean on August 21, 1777, that General Guy Carleton "is concerned at the return of the Indians"—to find whether the report of their conferring with rebels be true—to consult with Pere Huguet, the Jesuit, to whom he wrote at Sault St. Louis to ascertain the cause of the dissatisfaction of the Indians with Burgoyne's army.—[*Haldimand Collection, B* 39, 1885].

On June 20, 1783, General Haldimand, Governor General of Canada, wrote to Lord North: The Jesuits have sided with the rebels.

FATHER BERNARD WELL, S. J., GIVES DISSATISFACTION.

At Montreal, General Haldimand, Governor of Quebec, on February 15, 1779, wrote Father Montgolfier, Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, Montreal, that he is persuaded the Bishop has communicated respecting Father Well and the notice to the Jesuit Fathers. Hopes these gentlemen will in future give no reason for dissatisfaction with their conduct.—[*Report on Canadian Archives*, 1886, p 469].

What Father Well did favorable to the Americans or the Canadians who joined the "Rebel" forces does not appear. His name appears among those whose conduct did not please the Governor.

He signed B. Well, and *not* Jean Bap. (See autograph letters of this father dated 17th Oct, 1759, in the archives of the Ursulines at Quebec). Moreover in the Catalogue 1757-58, he is set down as "Pere Bern. Well—Miss. Gallo-belg." He was born on the 2d December, 1724. [*Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 71, p 387, says December 8th]. Entered the Society of Jesus, 29th Sept., 1744. Arrived in Canada, 1757. Died in Montreal, 1791, toward the end of March or the beginning of April.

He appears in the catalogue for the first time in 1757-58; moreover Brother Jean Rene Duval, who had formerly been in Canada (in the year 1738), and who was assistant procurator of the North American Missions, wrote from Paris on the 25th March, 1758, to the Ursulines at Quebec: "I have put in your aforesaid case, a little box for the Rev. Father Well, to whom I pray you, Madam, to be kind enough to give it." Father Well was Chaplain to the General Hospital at Quebec, from 1757 to 1758.

Rev. Bernard Well, S. J., was the last Jesuit of the Montreal House, which stood on what is now the Champ de Mars. After the suppression in 1773 of the Society in Europe, the communities in Canada were allowed to die out. In 1791, Father Well was the only representative of his Order in Montreal, while the Community in Quebec numbered but two, Fathers Casot and Girault de Launai. On the death of Father Well, toward the end of March or the beginning of April, 1791, Father Casot came up to Montreal and anticipated the cupidity of the English Government by giving away in charity every movable possession of the Montreal Jesuits.

FRENCH MILITARY FORCES IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

"A people which takes no pride in the noble achievements of remote ancestors will never achieve anything worthy to be remembered with pride by remote descendants."

Washington, in replying to the "Address of the Roman Catholics" on his accession to the Presidency, said: "I presume that your fellow citizens of all denominations will not forget the important assistance which they received from a nation in which the Roman Catholic faith is professed."

Hence it is proper to enumerate among the Catholic elements in the Revolution the Army and Navy of France. The soldiers and sailors having any religion at all professed the Roman Apostolic Catholic Faith.

FRENCH MILITARY FORCES.

"IF WE DO NOT HAVE MONEY AND SOLDIERS FROM FRANCE, OUR CAUSE IS LOST."—*Washington.*

THE ARMY OF ROCHAMBEAU.

King Louis XVI, on the urgent persuasion of Lafayette and his friends, who had come to America as volunteers, determined to send an army. It was not an allied army; it was nearly an American *corps d' armie.* The chief would be under the orders of Washington, and the French officers would yield precedence and command to American officers of the same rank.

The army assembled at Brest in April, 1780, under the command of Count Rochambeau, but of the six regiments which comprised it, only four, by reason of insufficient transports, could be embarked.

The regiments which came to America on this expedition were, the BOURBONNAIS, the SOISSONNAIS, the SAINTONGE, the ROYAL DEUX-PONTS. To these were added the LEGION OF LAUZUN, 600 men; CAVALIERS, 300; ARTILLERY, 700.

Sappers and miners of Corps of Engineers. Reinforcements from the Regiments of Neustine and D'Anhalt were sent, and the total of each regiment finally reached 1300.

This army of Rochambeau embarked on seven vessels, two frigates and from twenty-five to thirty transports.

The fleet arrived off Newport, Rhode Island, in the middle of July, having suffered severely by the long voyage and bad weather. Of 5000 men, 800 were ill.

The American army had to struggle against numerous difficulties, volunteers were hard to obtain and money was needed. In order to depreciate the paper money the English counterfeited it. Three boxes were captured at Newport on the Polly, containing $500,000. The two armies were employed in organizing during the first month after the arrival of the French. From the first it became necessary for Rochambeau to occupy himself with the financial question. All that was consumed by the army was paid for in coin. King Louis XVI, made a gift of six million *livres* and a present of money to Rochambeau.

In addition to the regiments and detachments above named, France also sent the Regiment Agénois, a part of which embarked on D'Estaing's fleet in 1779, took part in the siege of Savannah, then returned to the Antilles, where it had its garrison. The entire regiment embarked on Count de Grasse's fleet and took part in the siege and victory at Yorktown;

The Regiment Touraine, which Count de Grasse brought from the Antilles, and was engaged at Yorktown;

The first battalion of the Regiment Hainaut, was at Savannah in 1779, with Count D'Estaing;

Some companies of the Regiment Foix, which were also at Savannah in 1779 ;

The first battalion of the Regiment Dillon, which was at Savannah;

The second battalion of the Regiment Walsh, which was at Savannah;

Two companies of Lancers, two companies of Hussars of the Legion of Lauzun, which made the entire campaign in the army of Rochambeau;

The second battalion of the Regiment D'Auxonne (artillery), which was part of Rochambeau's army;

Four companies of the Regiment Metz (artillery), also attached to Rochambeau. Two of these companies left France in 1780; the others in 1781.

The company of Captain Savourin, of the Regiment Grenoble, (artillery), also of Rochambeau's army.

The Regiment de Royal Deux-Ponts.

This regiment was raised by the Duke of Deux-Ponts, by virtue of a commission dated April 1, 1757.

It was one of the four regiments which the Count de Rochambeau conducted to the United States. It distinguished itself greatly at Yorktown, October, 1781, and especially on the 14th, in the attack on the redoubts, where it rivalled in bravery with the Gatinais (Royal Auvergne) regiment.

Washington, in the name of Congress, offered to each of these regiments three pieces of cannon which they had taken from the enemy. It was Colonel commanding Count de Forbach, of Royal Deux-Ponts, who in the assault had the glory to enter first the English entrenchments. Arrived on the summit, he offered his hand to a grenadier to help him up; the grenadier fell at his feet mortally wounded; the Colonel presented his hand to another with the utmost coolness. This brave officer who was slightly wounded by the bursting of a sheli, arrived at Brest on the frigate Andromaque, charged by the American Congress to present to the King some of the flags taken from the army of Lord Cornwallis. The regiment returned to France in July, 1783.

Its Colonel was Comte Christian de Forbach de Deux-Ponts. Its second Colonel, Guillaume le Vicomte de Deux-Ponts.

Among its Captains was De Stack and of its Sub-Lieutenants, de la Roche, both Irish descent.

A son of General DeKalb was a First-Lieutenant.

Regiment D'Agenois.

The first colonel of this regiment was the Marquis de Crillon, April 18, 1776; Baron de Cadigan, born January 28, 1738, was the second November 11, 1776. He died June 22, 1779. The Count d' Autichamp, October 3, 1779, the third, and the Marquis de Rouge succeeded July 1, 1783.

The first and second battalions were at the Antilles in 1779, when a part of the regiment embarked with the fleet of Count d'Estaing, and took a glorious part in the siege of Savannah. Lieutenant Blandat was killed in the sortie of September 24th. Captain Barry and three sub-lieutenants were wounded in the furious attack made on the entrenchments, October 9th.

The regiment assembled at Martinique in 1781, and embarked with the fleet of the Count de Grasse, to reinforce the army which Count Rochambeau commanded in America. It arrived August 15, with the Gatinais and Touraine regiments in the Chesapeake Bay, at the moment General Cornwallis was surrounded in his entrenchments at Yorktown by Washington and Rochambeau. The Marquis de Saint Simons, who conducted this reinforcement, landed September 2d, at the head of the James River, marched to Williamsburg the 4th, where he joined the Marquis de Lafayette, who commanded a corps of Americans. October 3d two companies of grenadiers and Chasseurs d'Agenois attacked the British pickets and forced them to fall back upon the main fortifications. The tranchés was opened on the night of the 6th; on the 15th this regiment repulsed a sortie and on the 19th Cornwallis surrendered.

On the 5th of November the regiment embarked for Martinique.

Captain Denis D'Imbert du Barry, born at Languedoc, February 11, 1742, on April 19, 1782, was given a pension for his wounds at Savannah.

Regiment De Gatinais.

On March 25, 1776, the Regiment D'Auvergne was divided. The first and third battalions retained the name. The second and fourth were called the Regiment de Gatinais. The Colonels during the Revolution were the Marquis de Caupenne, April 18, 1776; the Count de Briey de Landres, May 9, 1778; the Marquis de Rostaing, October 27, 1778; the Viscount de Rochambeau, July 1, 1783.

The Regiment, to distinguish itself from Regiment D'Auvergne, adopted a yellow collar and white buttons. Its colors were black and violet.

In 1779 it embarked in the fleet of Count d'Estaing and from September 15th to October 20th, was at the siege of Savannah. The company of Chasseurs covered themselves with glory, the 9th of October, in the attack on the entrenchments. The sub-lieutenant Levert was the first to enter the entrenchments, whose defenders, astonished at such audacity, fled, throwing away their guns. The English returned more numerous and the brave companies, without support, having lost the half of their number, were obliged to retire. They withdrew in good order, carrying off their dead and wounded, among whom was Viscount de Bethizy, second colonel, with three wounds;

Captain Sireuil, wounded in the side; Captain de Foucault, wounded; Lieutenant de Justamont, killed; Chevalier de la Roche-Negley, wounded in the head; Chevalier de Tourville, wounded by a ball which passed from the right breast to the shoulder. Sub-lieutenant Levert had his clothes riddled with bullets.

In 1781 the regiment was made part of the corps d'armee which the Marquis de Saint Simon led to the United States to Rochambeau. It took a glorious part in the siege of Yorktown and the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis. On October 14th, with the Royal Deux-Ponts and under Lieutenant Colonel de Lestrade, it attacked with extreme bravery and carried at the first onset two redoubts on the left of the works. Captain Sireuil, of the Chasseurs, was again wounded, this time very seriously, with two other officers. After the victory, Washington, in expressing his admiration to the French Generals, begged them to offer, in his name, to the regiments and Royal Deux-Ponts, the three pieces of cannon which they had captured from the redoubts. The Regiment embarked soon after and returned to Saint Domingo. On July 11, 1782, in recognition of its splendid conduct in America the name of the regiment was changed to the Royal-Auvergne. That favor was accorded at the request of Count Rochambeau, who, at the siege of Yorktown, at the moment of a decisive attack, addressing himself to the Grenadiers de Gatanais, said: "Boys, show that Gatinais and Auvergne are one." The grenadiers swore to be slain, even to the last man, to merit that they be given back the title of "Auvergne".

In "Campagnie la benigue" was Peter Patrick Guerdon, born in Normandie, 1752. entered the service June 20, 1775, and died July 12, 1782.

Joseph Perry, born in Bretagne, 1756; entered the service April 17 1780; died January 20, 1782; was private in Campagnie de Chaumont,

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Regiment De Touraine.

Was reorganized April 16, 1775, after having been divided into two regiments, one of which kept the name and colors of Touraine; the other took the title of Savoie-Carignau.

The first Colonel was Marquis de Laval, April 26, 1775. His successors, during the Revolution, were: the Marquis de Saint Simon Maubléni, June 29, 1775; the Vicount de Pourdeux, April 13, 1780.

In April 1779, the Regiment sailed from Brest for America. On April 12, 1780, it left with Agenois, and Gatinais Regiments, with the fleet of Count de Grasse to reinforce the army of Rochambeau around Yorktown. Marquis de Saint-Simon commanded. It embarked August 5th and arrived on the 15th in the Chesapeake Bay. It took part in the siege of Yorktown, then returned to the Antilles. After a short stay at Martinique it re-embarked with the fleet of Count de Grasse and arrived January, 1782, in sight of the Island of St. Christopher. It contributed to the capture of Brimstone Hill. Returned to France in 1783.

Regiment D'Hainault.
[A Battalion].

Named after the province of Hainault, December 10, 1762. The Colonel was Cesar duc de Vendome. Jean Baptiste Laplin was Lieutenant Colonel.

A battalion embarked with Count d'Estaing in 1779 and distinguished itself at the capture of Grenade in 1779; took part July 6, 1779, in the naval combat against the fleet of Admiral Byron and participated in the siege of Savannah in October. It returned to Martinique and remained there until peace was declared.

Among the privates was Martin Barry of Campaignie Lombard, born at Marseilles, 1751, entered service July 25, 1777, died in America December 23, 1779.

Regiment De Foix.

A battalion formed of detachments taken from the Regiment de Foix embarked with the fleet of Count d'Estaing in 1779, took part in the siege of Grenade in naval combat July 6, 1779, with Admiral Byron; then at siege of Savannah in September 1779, then placed on board *Le Magnanime*, was engaged in the affairs of 9th and 12th of August, 1782, against Admiral Rodney. Returned to France after the Peace. It was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Marc Antoine du Chastelet.

Regiment D'Auxonne.

In the commencement of the war in America the second battalion embarked at Brest with the army of Rochambeau. Jean-Pierre Goulet de la Tour, Lieutenant Colonel, commanded.

The battalion returned to France in 1783. Vincent Martin, of this battalion, born in Lorraine, 1761, entered the service October 13, 1779; died at the hospital at Yorktown, February 28, 1782.

Regiment De Metz.

In 1777 the second battalion of this Regiment was sent to the Antilles.

Two companies of the first battalion were sent to America in April, 1780, and two others followed in 1781.

This regiment had ten companies in Rochambeau's army; the others were stationed at Saint Domingo and in the different isles of the Antilles.

The Chevalier Pierre de Gimel, born at Rudeil, January 28, 1728, Lieutenant Colonel, commanded.

Regiment De Walsh.

Of this Regiment the names of the officers only are given:

Major Thadee O'Brien; Quartermaster Charles Bancelin. Captains, Thomas de Fitzmaurice, Chevalier Charles Walsh, John O'Neil, James de Nagle, John O'Brien, James D'Arcy.

Second Captains, Edward Stack, Lawrence Bellew, Charles O'Croly, James O'Driscol, Chevalier Armand O'Connor.

Lieutenants, Francis Plunkett, James O'Riordan, William Keating, Richard Barry.

Second Lieutenants, James O'Sheil, John Baptist O'Meara, Charles O'Gorman, George Meighan, Eugene MacCarthy.

Sub-lieutenants, John Keating, James Cruice, Felix O'Crowley, Philip Darell, James O'Flynn, William Barker, Thomas Traut, David Barry, Louis O'Cahill, James Tobin.

Regiment De Dillon.

Of this regiment, unhappily, only the list of officers is recorded in *Les Combattants Francais de la Guerre Americaine.*

Colonel, Count Arthur Dillon; Second Colonel, Chevalier Theobalé Dillon; Lieutenant Colonel Barthelemy Dillon; Major James O'Moran; Quartermaster, Moncarelly.

Captains: Gerard Moore, Simon Purdon, Thomas Bancks, Anselme

Nugent, Paul Swigny, Robert Shee, William Moore, Bernard O'Neill, Michael O'Bevin, Laurence Taaffe.

Second Captains: James de Mandeville, Philip Macquire, Thomas Macdermott, John O'Reilly, William Kelly, Christopher Novolan, Denis O'Doyer, Isidore Lymk, Terence Coghlan.

Lieutenants: John Bernard Greenlaw, Thomas Dillon, Patrick O'Keefe, Claude O'Farel, Bernard de Macdermott, Michael Welsh, Nicholas Ervin, Joseph Commerfort, John Browne, John Duggan.

Second Lieutenants, Louis Darcy, William Fitz Harris, Thomas Browne, Christopher Taafe, John Fennell, John Hussey, le Chevalier Nicholas Wyhte Seyslip, Edmond Swigny, Emanuel O'Farrell, James O'Farrell.

Sub-Lieutenants: James Macloskey, John Baptiste de Morgan, Patrick MacSherry, Edward Fitzgerald, William Shee, Emanuel O'Farrell, Joseph Fitzmaurice, Charles O'Reilly, John Baptiste Macdonald, Daniel O'Meara, Louis Khnopff, William Sheldon, Charles O'Moran, Henry Owens, Patrick Strange, Henry Purdon, Patrick Murphy, Thomas Dehays.

Irish Officers.

From Steven's *Facsimilies of Documents Relating to America*, 1773-1783, No. 1836, we learn that Lord Stormont, the English Ambassador at Paris, wrote Lord Weymouth on January 24, 1778:

"I am informed that Doctor Franklin, with the secret approbation of this Court, has engaged between thirty and forty of the Irish officers in this service to go and serve in the Rebel Army. Several of these are Captains, but there are some above that rank. They are to assemble in the Isle of Rhe, where Dillon's Regiment is garrisoned at present, and embark there for North America. I cannot absolutely answer for the truth of this intelligence, yet as it comes to me through several channels, some of them very good ones, I am much inclined to credit it."

On February 6th, 1778, France and the United States concluded a Treaty of Alliance.

Irish Regiments in French Service.

From *Facsimilies* No. 1872, page 1, we learn that Lord Stormont, at Paris, wrote to Lord Weymouth, London. Most confidential. February 25, 1778:

"There is reason to suspect that the Irish Regiments in this service are designed for some expedition and that it is with that view they are quartered in the Isle de Rhe and along the coast of Britanny. I know, my Lord, that some of the officers themselves have this suspicion, and I have been assured that M. de Maillebois, whose character your Lordship is no stranger to, and who is one of our bitterest and keenest enemies, has secretly employed a Mr. O'Connel to go round to many of these officers and try and reconcile them to the idea of going to America, to which they are very averse. Were they to be sent at present they would probably be ordered to the French West India Islands and from thence to North America, but it seems more likely that they will not embark till war is declared and then be sent either to our West India Islands, North America, or to Ireland, as shall be thought most advisable at the time."

The annexed account of the American services of the REGIMENT DE DILLON was given by *The Gaelic American*, New York, August 11, 1906, reprinted from *The Journal of the Royal United Service Institution.*

DILLONS AT GRENADA.

In the beginning of 1779, Count Arthur Dillon having requested that his regiment might be permitted to serve in America against the English, the First Battalion, completed to a strength of 1,400 officers and men by large drafts from the Second Battalion, embarked on March 27th for Martinique, where it arrived six weeks later. The Berwick and Walsh (Ormond's) Regiments were embarked for the West Indies at the same time, a certain number of men from each of these regiments being distributed among the ships of the fleet, where they acted as marines. On the arrival of these reinforcements, the Count D'Estaing, who was in supreme command of the French naval and military forces in the West Indies, and who, up to that time, had not felt himself sufficiently strong to take the offensive against the English, now determined to carry out his long-meditated design of seizing the Island of Grenada. On 30th of June, having embarked 700 men from the regiments of Champagne, de Foix, d'Auxerrois, and de Hainault, with the whole of Dillon's in the ships of his squadron, he weighed from Martinique, anchored off Grenada on the 2d of July and immediately landed his force, the English garrison, under

Lord Macartney, which numbered only some 700 men, retiring to a strongly fortified position on an eminence known as the Mont de l'Hopital. This height, which commanded the town and harbor, besides being very steep and rugged by nature, was further strengthened by walls of stone, raised at intervals, behind which was a strong palisade and three entrenchments, rising one above the other. The 3d was spent by D'Estaing in reconnoitring, but being afraid that Admiral Byron might arrive with his squadron to relieve Macartney, and having no artillery with him, he determined on carrying the position by a *coup de main*; and he accordingly arranged that on the night of the 3d-4th the attempt to storm should be made. The attack was delivered by three columns, two of which were furnished by Dillon's, and were under the command of Count Arthur and his lieutenant-colonel, Edward Dillon, respectively, D'Estaing himself being in supreme command and, sword in hand, heading the first column. In spite of the gallant resistance of the small garrison, the position was carried at the point of the bayonet, Dillon's, as usual, distinguishing itself by the fury of its attack; "Le regiment de Dillon," reported D'Estaing, "quoique maltraité par le feu ne ralentit pas un instant son attaque." Lord Macartney, 700 officers and men, three colors, 102 guns and 16 mortars, were the trophies of this brilliant little exploit, while over thirty vessels, twenty of which were richly laden merchantmen, were captured in the harbor.

Learning that Byron was approaching, D'Estaing, leaving three hundred and fifty of Dillon's to garrison the town and citadel, reembarked the remainder of his troops, and on the 6th of July engaged Byron off the island, who had with him eighteen sail-of-the-line and a frigate, with which he was convoying a number of transports with troops to reinforce Macartney, as he thought, being unaware of his surrender. D'Estaing had twenty-five sail-of-the-line under his flag, and the result of the action was, that the British Admiral, in consequence of the disabled condition of his fleet, found it necessary to take shelter under St. Christopher's, where he remained, awaiting reinforcements, leaving the French for the time masters of the sea.

D'Estaing Wounded.

After vainly trying to draw Byron from his safe anchorage in Basse Terre Roads, D'Estaing determined to attempt the capture of Savannah. Disembarking his troops on the 12th of September at Blow-

lay, in Georgia, some twelve miles from the town, he effected a junciton with a force of 3,000 Americans, under General Lincoln. Four days later, he laid siege to the town, but the place was strong and little progress was made, while his troops, who were encamped without tents in the swamps, with continual rain, suffered much from the exposure, while, owing to their distance from the fleet, on which they were dependent for supplies, rations were very irregularly served out. As the season when operations were possible was coming to a close, D'Estaing determined to attempt to carry the town by assault at daybreak on the 9th of October, The assault was headed by D'Estaing and Lincoln in person, while Count Dillon, with his regiment, was directed to move round the edge of the swamps and attack the rear of the British lines. But both the direct and flank attacks were met with so heavy and well-directed a fire that the columns could make no headway, and were eventually driven back with a loss of some 1,200 killed and wounded, of whom eighty were officers, among whom was the intrepid D'Estaing himself, who was wounded in three places, Dillon's, as usual, losing heavily. Count Arthur Dillon assumed the command in D'Estaing's place, and the next day, unmolested by the enemy, he raised the siege, and withdrawing his guns and baggage, reembarked his troops and sailed on the 21st for Grenada, which was reached twelve days later.

During 1780, Dillon's remained at Martinique, but a detachment, with a draft from Walsh's, was embarked on board some of the ships of the Count de Guichen, who had now relieved D'Estaing, and took part in the actions of the 17th of April, and 15th and 19th of May, with the English fleet under Rodney.

On the 1st of March, 1780, Count Arthur Dillon was appointed Brigadier, while retaining the proprietorship of his regiment, but in accordance with a royal decree of the 5th of April, 1780, his title of colonel was changed to that of *Mestre de camp*. In the following month he transferred the command of the Regiment to Count Theobard Dillon, who was killed at the siege of Lille in 1792.

In the early part of 1781, 700 men of Dillon's were embarked on board the *Ville de Paris*, the flagship of the Count de Grasse, and took part in the action of the 3d of May, off Martinique, between the French fleet and the English, under the command of Sir Samuel Hood. They were next landed on the Island of Tobago, where the Regiment

of Walsh had also been disembarked, and the two corps took a leading part in the final conquest of the island in June, by the Marquis de Bouillé, who had assumed command of the land forces in the West Indies. Both regiments then returned to Martinique.

With the Marquis De Bouille.

On the 15th of November of the same year the Marquis, who had determined to turn to account the absence of the English fleet to attempt the reconquest of the Island of St. Eustache, embarked twelve hundred men from the Regiments of Dillon, Walsh, Auxerrois and Royal-Comtois with three hundred Grenadiers, and arrived off the back of the Island on the night of the 25th-26th of November, a point where no danger of a hostile landing was feared by the Governor and garrison, owing to the natural difficulties of the coast and the strong currents. Immediate preparations were made by De Bouillé for disembarking his troops, and he, with Count Arthur Dillon, who was his Brigadier, and some four hundred men succeeded in landing by 4 A. M., a little before daybreak, but by this time the wind had freshened so much that his ships could no longer keep in to the shore, and the sea also getting up, the boats were driven on to the rocks and smashed up, the Marquis thus finding himself cut off from his fleet, with only a fourth of his troops with him and no artillery. There was no possibility of extricating himself from his dangerous position, except by advancing at once and trusting to surprising the enemy before they awoke from their fancied security and became aware of the presence of the French. Encouraging his troops, he had at once moved forward, Count Dillon and the Irish leading; the distance to be traversed before arriving at the fort was some six miles, which was covered, in spite of the difficulties of the country, by 6 A. M.; a part of the garrison was on the parade ground at drill, but the surprise was complete, and although the alarm was at once given, the French rushed the fort before the drawbridge could be raised, and the rest of the garrison, with the Governor, finding resistance hopeless, surrendered. The French loss is said to have been only ten men, and these were drowned; while, in addition to several killed and wounded, 850 English troops were made prisoners and four colors captured. A valuable amount of booty was secured by the victors, including a large sum of money, each private soldier receiving 100 crowns, in addition to which several vessels were captured, which were lying in

the roads. The following day the adjacent islands of Saba and St. Martin, with their small garrisons, also surrendered. In his report to the King, the Marquis de Bouillé, while stating his inability to do justice to the gallantry and discipline of his troops, alleged of Count Arthur Dillon: "Le Comte de Dillon a donne de nouvelles preuves de son z[illegible] et de son activité extrémes." Among the English prisoners were 350 Irish Catholic soldiers, who enlisted voluntarily in the Dillon and Walsh regiments, which were by now sadly reduced in their numbers.

Early in 1782, Dillon's was employed in the expedition made by De Bouillé to capture the Island of St. Christopher, and took a prominent part in the capture of Brimstone Hill, styled the "Gibraltar of the Antilles," which surrendered after a siege of thirty-one days. Count Arthur Dillon was appointed Governor, and proved himself so well qualified for the task that when the island was restored to England at the conclusion of war in 1783, all his regulations and ordinances were confirmed, and he was officially complimented by the English Government for the eminent administrative ability he had displayed, his regiment remained to garrison it, a small detachment of fifty men being drafted for service as Marines in De Grasse's fleet, in which they were present in the battle of the 12th of April of that year, when De Grasse was defeated by Rodney. At the same time, six hundred men of the Second Battalion, the date of whose arrival from France is not given, were sent to garrison San Domingo.

The Brigade at Martinique.

Towards the end of the year, the Second Battalion of the Regiment of Berwick arrived at Martinique, but the war was now drawing to a close, and on peace being signed on the 3d of November, 1783, the First Battalions of the three Regiments of Dillon, Walsh and Berwick appear then to have returned to France. With this war terminated the strictly military career of the Irish Brigade in the service of France, although the complete break up of the national element in the different regiments still existing did not occur until 1791, after the outbreak of the French Revolution.

Like so many others, the gallant Count Arthur Dillon fell a victim to the Revolution. In 1786 he became Governor of Tobago, where he remained three years, when he returned to France as Deputy to the States General in 1789, in which capacity he was a steady defender of

the Colonial interests. When war broke out in 1792, and France was invaded by the Austrians and Prussians, he was made a General of Division and appointed to the Command of the Army of the Ardennes, where he shared with Dumouriez the honor of driving back the invaders. In 1793, he was appointed to the command of the Army of the Rhine, but being denounced as a Royalist and Aristocrat, was summoned to Paris, where after trial he was guillotined on the 14th of April, 1794. His name was engraved on the Arc de Triomphe and his portrait hangs in the gallery at Verseilles.

"It is painful reading," says *The Gaelic American*, "to learn that the Regiment and the remnant of the Irish Brigade, which had been taken into the service of France in 1688-9, was absorbed in the British army."

In September, 1794, William Pitt, desiring to draw the Irish Brigade from the service of France to that of England, entered into relations with the Brigade through Count O'Connell, a Lieutenant-General of France, who had emigrated. These negotiations were continued by the Duke of Portland, who, in the name of the King, formally invited the Duke of Fitzjames—the grandson of the great Duke of Berwick, great-grandson of James II, and titular commander of the Regiment of Berwick—into the English service, "with the Regiment of the Marshal de Berwick, and with the Irish Brigade, on the same footing that it had been in the service of his Christian Majesty," and he stated that it was the intention to add a fourth regiment to the Irish Brigade and place it under the command of O'Connell, one of the most distinguished officers in the old French Army, who had accompanied the Bourbon Princes into exile. The offer was accepted, and the Brigade was brought over by the Duke of Fitzjames.

More particular recital of the services of the Regiment at the siege of Savannah is given in the annexed account from *The Irish World*, December 17, 1798:

The Irish At Savannah.

Sandy plain around the city was turned to skillful account by the 4,000 French and Irish troops, who, with the 3,000 Americans under Gen. Lincoln, invested the place and prepared the way for attack on its skillfully drawn line. The winds, so favorable to British fortune, became strong as the French and Americans commenced to draw close to Savannah, and D'Estaing began to get alarmed for the safety of his

fleet, which lay at anchor at the mouth of the river eighteen miles away. A storm might drive his ships of war on the low and swampy coast of Georgia. And this fear of disaster at sea tempted the generally prudent D'Estaing to dare fate in the hazard of a direct attack before his investing lines were drawn close enough around the Georgian stronghold.

Let us see what our English authority, Serjeant Lamb, who was present at the fight, says of what happened on this disastrous day: "The French, Irish and Americans," he said, "resolutely marched up to the lines, but the tremendous and well-directed fire of the batteries, joined to that in a cross direction from the galleys, threw their whole column into confusion—not before, however, they had planted two standards on the British redoubts." To Dillon and his Irish was assigned the task of passing the edge of the swamps, the redoubts, the batteries, and attacking the rear of the British lines. His troops, eager to leap the barriers which divided them from the enemy they had so often chastised before, were in motion long before daylight, feeling their way over the ground.

The fog that enveloped the garrison that October morning, as Dillon and his men groped their way panting for the orders to the escalade, befriended the British, as winds and tides had often befriended them before. It lifted just in time to enable the defenders of Savannah to see Dillon and his men coming to the assault the while they were exposed to the sweeping cross fires from the ditches, encient and counterscarp, which raked the advancing Irish with destructive hail. In vain the men tried to move forward through the showers of grape which fell on their rushing lines, and gallantry only meant slaughter to those who pressed madly toward the slopes of the works before them. The grenadier company made a heroic effort to reach the sides of those deadly angles, and a spray of their skirmishers dashed against the counterscarp, only to be thrown back with a loss of 63 out of 84 of their men.

The Light Company of Dillon's mounted their companions' shoulders when their scaling ladders were splintered in their hands, and pawed their way up the sides of the encient, only to be crushed back, overwhelmed by numbers and driven out by masses of men who defended the British lines. Dillon's voice was hoarse with shouting encouragement, and as his sword was broken in his hand he placed his

headdress on the jagged edge of the blade and leaped and stumbled over the bodies of his men to the front of the fighting line.

On his right he heard the brave Pulaski and his 200 horse galloping over the ground in a desperate effort to leap a barrier before them, and the voice of the gallant Pole was then heard , for the last time, urging his men with his well known battle-cry, "Forwarts, brudern, forwarts!" But it was all no use; the stubborn British could not be moved that morning, and disaster was inevitable. The victors of Grenada were obliged to retire before the fire-edged walls they could not escalade, and 700 French and Irish soldiers, out of a total of 4,000, told how they fought to reach this enemy that disastrous day.

Count de Segur tells some interesting incidents of the coolness and the heroism of the Irish at Savannah, particularly of his "friend Lynch," and if unsuccessful, the Irish troops of the French army were not without reaping some honor from out the jaws of defeat, as they had done before at Blenheim, Ramilles and other disastrous battles. But they were soon furnished another opportunity of meeting their enemy. The following year the regiments of Walsh and Dillon were among those represented by detachments serving under the French Admiral, the Count de Guichen, in the West Indies.

After the victory at Yorktown the French Army remained there until June 23, 1782, when, under Major General Chevalier de Chastellux, it marched northward to join Washington and Rochambeau at Newburgh, New York. Marching by night and resting by day the heat was avoided. At Baltimore the army remained over a week.

Lauzun's Legion was under command of Robert Dillon, and after crossing the Delaware, on September 6th, the main body of the army marched behind the cover of the Pompton Hills, while Dillon's command marched at the foot of their eastern slope on a parallel line, watching the movements of the British in New York.—[*Am. His. Mag.;* July 1881; p. 9.]

This Robert Dillon, not being mentioned as an officer of Regiment de Dillon, he, doubtless, was second in command of the Duc de Lauzun's Regiment, an independent command organized in this country.

THE FRENCH NAVAL FORCES.

"To perpetuate the memory of the men, who, by their services or sacrifices during the War of the American Revolution, have achieved the work of Independence."

The King of France and his Ministry sent four fleets to America to aid the battling Americans.

They were, the fleet under Count D'Estaing, the fleet successively commanded by Ternay, Destouches and Barras, the fleet of Count de Guichen and the fleet of Count de Grasse.

THE FLEET OF COUNT DE GRASSE.

Several of the vessels of the fleet of Count de Guichen of the Antilles were sent to reinforce the fleet of Count de Grasse, so that we may well count four French fleets as directly aiding to win American Independence. The vessels of Count de Guichen not sent to De Grasse did effective service where stationed, which was helpful to the movements of the naval forces operating in American waters.

A recapitulation of the record of these vessels directly engaged along the coast of the United States is herewith represented being taken from the work published by the French Government in 1902, and reprinted by order of the United States Senate of December 18, 1903, and published in 1905. It is titled *Les Combattants Francais de la Guerre Americaine*, 1778-1783.

THE FLEET OF COUNT D'ESTAING.

Five weeks after the signing of the Treaty of Friendship between the United States and France, Admiral D'Estaing, on April 13, 1778, left Toulon with a fleet of twelve vessels and four frigates. On July 8th, he arrived off Delaware Bay, but the British being in possession of Philadelphia and several of the British men-of-war being in the Bay, Admiral D'Estaing sailed northward and forced the passage of Newport Harbor, Rhode Island, where the English, surprised, burned five of their frigates and two corvettes. As Admiral Howe advanced to the support of the English forces, D'Estaing prepared for battle, but a violent tempest separated the fleets. D'Estaing was obliged to retire to Boston. The Americans evacuated Rhode Island. This first effort of the French obliged the English to act on the defensive.

D'Estaing having repaired his vessels sailed on November 4, 1778, for the Antilles to watch the English fleet under Byron though not strong enough to force him to fight, but joined by the squadron of Chevalier de la Motte-Piquet, he found himself, July 5, 1779, at the head of twenty-five vessels of the line. He attacked the English in Grenada waters and so much damaged eight of their ships that they beat a retreat. D'Estaing then anchored in the harbor of St. Georges. On July 22, he again offered to renew the combat, but the English fleet having anchored, broadsides on, in the harbor of Basse-Terre, he made sail for the coast of Georgia, United States.

Savannah had been strongly fortified by the English. The Franco-American forces did not time well their attack. A vigorous attack was made; the Americans and French rivaled each other in ardor and bravery. The Americans retired to South Carolina with the loss of 400, the French to their ships, losing 700, Count D'Estaing being among the wounded.

Though defeated, the unexpected arrival of the French naval forces stopped the proposed offensive movements of the English against the Southern States. General Clinton caused Rhode Island to be evacuated with so much haste that the garrison at Newport abandoned all its heavy pieces and a large quantity of munitions of war on October 27, 1779.

The fleet of D'Estaing was composed of LE LANGUEDOC, Captain Commandant de Boulain Villiers. On this ship there were two Chaplains: Abbes Bandol and Marazel. Bandol became later the Chaplain of the French Ministers, Gerard and Luzerne, residing in Philadelphia.

LE ZELE, commanded by Captain de Barras. Its Chaplains were Abbes Stanislaus, Roux, Recollet, and Daumas Bernardy.

LE FANTASQUE, Captain Pierre Andre de Suffren-Saint Tropez, born January 13, 1729, died in Paris, October 8, 1788. Became Vice Admiral.

Abbe Urbain Ardouvire, Recollet, was Chaplain of this vessel.

LE MAGNIFIQUE, Captains Milton de Genonilly and Macarty de Marteigue. The Chaplains were Abbes Casimir, Recollet, Durandeau and Bourdy, Recollet.

LE TOURNANT, Count de Breugnon, Chief of the fleet, and Comte de Bruyeres, Captain of the ship.

The Chaplain was Abbe Wenceslas Signoret.

LE PROTECTEUR, Chevalier D'Apchon, Commandant.

The Chaplain, Abbe Policarpe Rochansson, Recollet.

Le Fier [June 1778-July 1780], Chevalier de Turpin.

Chaplains, Abbe Aime, Alexis de Brossac.

La Provence [March 1778- December, 1779]. Captains de Champorcin and Chevalier de Saint Antonin.

Chaplain, Abbe Gabriel de Lorme.

L'Artesien (1778-1781), Captain de Peynier.

Chaplains, Abbes Jean Francois Darguene, Eloi Bernard, Recollet, Cordelier Warnier, who died in the hospital at Guadeloupe, May 4, 1780; Grassieus, Recollet.

Le Guerrier [April, 1778], Captain de Bourgainville.

Chaplain, Abbe Giraud.

L'Amphion [February, 1779-March 1781], Captains Fernon de Quengo and de Saint-Cesaire.

Chaplains, Abbe Bernardin Fortin and Cordelier Grandmougin.

Le Marseillais (1778-9], Captain de la Poype-Vertrieus.

Chaplain, Abbe Giraud. On this vessel was seaman Peter Maccoy, who died November 11, 1779.

Le Cesar or Cezar [1778-1779]. Commandant, Jean Joseph de Rafelis, Counte de Broves. Lieutenant of the naval forces, March 1, 1779. Born July 8, 1775. Died November 12, 1782.

Chaplain, Abbe Bonice, Recollet.

Le Vengeur [1778-1781]. Commandant le Chevalier De Retz.

Chaplains, Abbes Victor Pichet and Perrot.

L'Annibal [1779-1781]. Admiral de Terney and La Motte-Picquet, Chief of the fleet, Commandants.

Chaplains, Abbes Quernel and Maccabe.

La Prudente [May 1778-June, 1779, when she was captured by the English].

M. Le Vicomte D'Escars, Commandant.

Chaplain, Abbe Andre Corsin-Duport.

La Concorde [January, 1778-March, 1779]. Captain Gardeur de Tilly.

Chaplain, Gabriel Montillet.

La Chimere [March, 1778-March, 1780]. Captain M de Saint-Cezaire.

Chaplains, Valerian Durand and La Roghe.

Father Durand on October 10, 1778, at Chester, Pa., baptized Elizabeth, daughter of John and Bridget Scantlen. He was a Franciscan.

L'Alcemene [1778-1779]. Le Chevalier de Bonneval, Captain.

Chaplains, Jean Francois Quentin, and Elzéard Bonnaud, Recollet.

L'Etourdia [1778-1779]. M le Marquies de Montbas, Commandant.

Chaplain, Abbe Felix, Recollet.

L'Aimable [1778-1779]. Commandant, M de Saint-Cosme-Sainte Eulalie.

Chaplain, Damaze, Recollet.

L'Andromague [April 15, 1778-July 11, 1779]. Commandant, M De Buort de la Chanalière.

Chaplain, Roger Morisson.

La Blanche [1778-79]. Lieut. Commanders, M. Boucault, M de la Galissonniere.

Chaplain, De Saint-Xavier, Carmelite.

Le Fendant [1778-1781]. Captain, M Arquis Vaudreuil.

Arrived on coast of Georgia, September 1, 1779. Sailed northward October 26th, anchored in Chesapeake Bay, November 11, 1779, to Yorktown, November 20th, left there January 25, 1780; arrived at Port Ruxil, February 16, 1780.

Battles with the English on April 17th, May 15th, May 19th; returned to Port Royal May 22d, continued cruising until its arrival at Brest, France, January 3, 1781.

Its Chaplains were, Abbe Nicolas, Capuchin, who died on board, February 2, 1780. Abbe Boucher took his place.

L'Alerte, cutter. [January 1, 1779-February 1, 1780]. Commandant, Le Chevalier de Capellis.

FLEET OF COUNT De GRASSE.

Large ships had been built at Brest, Toulon and Rochefort. In three years more than twenty vessels of the line had been constructed or put in condition to go to sea. Some of these had been given to Count D'Estaing.

Count De Grasse, with twenty-six vessels and several frigates, sailed from Brest, March 22, 1781, in command of the second expedition to the United States.

He had orders to go to the Antilles, thence to follow the coast of the

United States from Savannah to Rhode Island to give assistance to the army of Washington and Rochambeau. De Grasse profited by his stay in the Antilles to obtain from the Governor 3,400 men as reinforcements for Rochambeau.

By the good will of the Spanish Governor of Habana, he obtained a loan of 1,200,000 livres, for which he give his private fortune as security.

It was De Grasse who chose the Chesapeake as the point of concentration with the armies of Washington and Rochambeau, which, by a forced march of 220 miles in eleven days, reached White Plains and then by accomplishing marches of 60 miles a day joined De Grasse at Williamsburg. There they found Lafayette, who had resisted the attacks of Arnold and Cornwallis with his own troops and the 3400 under Count Saint Simon which De Grasse had brought from the Antilles.

During their operation the English squadrons of Admirals Hood and Graves joined at New York and on August 31st, set sail for Chesapeake Bay.

De Grasse, on September 5th, signaled the enemy and gave orders to prepare for the combat. His orders were executed with so much celerity that, notwithstanding the absence of 90 officers and 1500 men employed in the embarkment of the army, the French fleet was under sail in less than an hour.

The action began at 4 o'clock and lasted until night. De Grasse the next four days endeavored to force battle, but contrary winds forced him out of sight of the English and the English fleet was too disabled to attempt to renew the fight.

The squadron of De Grasse returned to Chesapeake Bay. The army of Cornwallis was thus blocked from the seacoast and so the victory at Yorktown was assured. The town was already surrounded by the French and American troops and De Grasse added 400 men from his vessels.

On October 19, 1781, Cornwallis was forced to surrender to the Americans under Lafayette and the French under Rochambeau and both under the supreme command of General Washington.

The precision with which the plan of campaign had been arranged and executed excited admiration. Washington and Rochambeau had arrived at the mouth of the Elk River an hour after the

arrival of the messenger announcing the arrival of the fleet of De Grasse at the entrance to the Chesapeake

"It is perhaps," said Rochambeau, "the most extraordinary chance that the expeditions coming from the North and from the South should arrive at the rendezvous in the Bay at an hour's interval."

The siege of Yorktown marked the end of English resistance to American Independence.

The value of the services of Count De Grasse are not sufficiently recognized nor the importance of his course displayed for the consideration of the thoughtful and patriotic. His selection of the place of action alone manifested a keen perception of the possibilities of the occasion and by the result of his course testified to its highest wisdom.

Francois Joseph Paul, Comte De Grasse, Marquis de Tilly, Lieutenant General of the French naval forces, was born at Valette (Province) in 1723, died at Paris, January 11, 1788. Taken prisoner on the "Villa de Paris" by the English in the combat of April 12, 1782. Liberated shortly before Peace.

La Ville-de-Paris. Commanded by M. de Latouche-Tréulle, under orders of Count De Grasse.

Chaplains, Abbes Firnion, Capuchin of d'Amiens, and Berigne, Carmelite.

L'Aigrette [September 12, 1781-March 31, 1782]. Commanded by Chevalier De Cambis.

Chaplain, the Capuchin Movin.

Le Diadéme [February, 1789-January, 1781]. Captain Dampierre.

Chaplains, the Capuchin Remy, who died August 25, 1799, the Carmelite Picard Durango and the Augustinan Augmon.

L'Engageante [January, 1781-Janaury, 1783]. Commandant De Kergarion. Chaplain, Eyssieve.

La Concorde [January, 1781- May, 1782]. Commanded by Chevalier de la Tanouavie. Chaplain, Celestin Bureau.

Le Magnanime [March, 1781-September, 1782]. Commander, Comte De Begue. Chaplain, Stanislaus.

L'Ivelly, Commanded by Chevalier Durumain.

Chaplain, Abbe Bartholeomé Omahony. There is no mistaking his nationality by birth or descent. Among the officers and crew of this vessel no other name appears suggestive of Ireland.

Le Northumberland, commanded Mm de Briqueville le Chevalier de Médine, de Saint-Cézaire, under the orders of Marquis De Vaudreuil, Lieutenant General.

Chaplain, Abbe Baratciard.

Le Scipion: [March-October, 1781]. Captains, M. de Clavel and M. Grimouard. Chaplain, Abbé Roux.

Le Sceptre [January 1781-Abril, 1783]. Comte De Vaudreuil, and M. D. Lapérouse, Captains. Chaplain, Tibure Cloupet.

La Couronne et Le Pluton. [October 1781-June, 1783]. Captains De Riverre, Mithon de Genouilly under order of de la Motte-Picquet. Chaplains, Abbes Macabe and Boucher.

Ta Bourogne [1781 and 1783, wrecked February 4, 1783]. Chevallier De Charvitte, Captain. Chaplain, the Capuchin Onesime, lost in the wreck, February 4, 1783.

La Glorieux [1781-1782]. Commander Vicomte D'Escars. In the combat April 12, 1782, this vessel was captured by the British.

Chaplain, the Capuchin Zephiren.

Le Caton [1779-1782[. Comte De Framond, Captain.

Chaplain, Abbé Le Sr. Renedy.

L. Auguste [1781-1783]. Commander M. De Barrcus-Saint-Laurent. Chaplains, the Capuchin Dorothe, the Promontré Morel and the Secular Charles Joseph Prospere, of Roubuix.

L'Hector [1781-1782].

Chaplains, the Capuchin Bernardin De Villars; Abbe Potterie, secular; Abbé Mornay, secular.

Le Sagittaire [January, 1781-September, 1782]. Commandants M. de Castelanne Majastre, M. de Montluo de la Bourdonnaye.

Chaplains, Bernard, Demare, Recollet; Bamabe, Capuchin, died July 9, 1781. Frederic, Capuchin, of Bourges

Le Serpent, cutter, June 1780-June, 1782]. Commandant Amedela Laune. He was wounded in the combat of September 25, 1780, as were Lieutenants Vannot, Tostain and Dubourg Affroy.

Had no Chaplains.

La Diligente [1781-1782]. This vessel was wrecked February 3, 1782, off Cape Henry. The Chevalier De Colonard, Lieutenant Commander. No Chaplain.

Le Saint Espirit [1781-1782]. Marquis de Chabert, commander. Chaplain, Bertimineux, Morel, Prénionté Bonice Thomas, Récollet.

L'Amazone. From January 1, 1781 to July 29, 1782, when taken by the English, and retaken the next day to August 3, 1783.

Commanders, Chevalier de Villages, Captain, De Monguiot Lieutenant and De Gaston Lieutenant.

Chaplain, John Machung [probably John MacKeon or Macewen].

L'Experiment, April 1780-August, 1783. Commanders, De Martelly Chautard, Chevalier De Médine. Lieutenant de Langle, Chevalier De Coates. Chaplain, Bonice Tancas.

THE FLEET OF COUNT De GUICHEN.

The fleets of D'Estaing and De Grasse operated in American waters and so directly contributed to American independence. But all French fleets and armies elsewhere also contributed, though not personally engaged on American soil or American water, and so aided perhaps as much as those engaged on the Chesapeake or at Yorktown.

When D'Estaing set sail for America the French fleets on the coast of Europe had splendid combats of which the duel of the *Belle Poule* and the *Arethuse* and the combat at Ouessant remain famous episodes and which weakened Great Britain and gave great aid to the Colonies.

So the fleet of Count de Guichen, who fought in the Antilles, and was there in constant contact with the fleets whose operations were carried on on the other side of the Atlantic, gave indirect cooperation to the effort of the French in America. Besides several of De Guichen's vessels were added to the fleet of De Grasse and so directly aided, in American waters, the defeat of Cornwallis at Yorktown

These vessels were, L'Indien Devenu Le Réflechy. Commanders, De Balleroy, De Boudes, Bernard De Mariquy. Chevalier, De Médine.

Chaplain, Dieudinne, Dupont, Sebashan De Rosey, Panous, all Capuchins.

Le Marseilles [1781-1782]. Marquis de Castellane Wajastre.

Chaplain, The Récollet Damas.

Le Citoyeu. Captain, D'Ethy. Chaplains Dieudonne, Damas, Capuchins.

L'Actionnaire, Captains H. de L'Archantel. Chevalier De Botderu. Chaplain, Jean Francois de Ville franchie.

Le Vaillant. Chevalier De Cany, Commandant. Chaplain, Capuccin Marc.

Le Souverain, Chevalier De Glanclevés, Commander.
Chaplain, Le S. Moullet.
Hercules, Vicountde Turpin. Chevalier Pugot Bras.
Chaplains, Severin Calvet René Potier.

THE FLEET OF De TERNAY, DESTOUCHES AND De BARRAS.

This fleet brought Rochambeau's Army to Rhode Island. It was commanded by Charles Henri d'Arsac the Chevalier, De Ternay, who died off Newport, Rhode Island, on December 15, 1780. He was succeeded by Chevalier Destouche and he by Count De Barras.

They commanded the Le Duc De Bourgoyne. The Chaplains were, Abbes Queruesle and Meurnay.

Le Jason [1779-January, 1781]. M de la Marthonie, Commandant.
Chaplains, Didier and Jérome Audibert.

From January 1781 to 1782, when in De Grasse's fleet, it had for Commander M. de la Clocketerre, and Chevelier de Villages.

The Chaplains were, Abbé Dowd of Ireland, the Capuchin Frederic of Borges and the Capuchin Maurice.

La Provence, Commandant M. de Lombard. Chaplain, the Récollet Le Roy.

L'Eveille, Commandant, Le Gardeur de Tilly.
Chaplain, Roger Morisson.

Le Conquerant, Captain Grandiére. Chaplain, Abbé Routel.

L'Ardent, Chevalier Bernard De Marigny.
Chaplains, Germaine, and Athanare Surigneau.

Le Neptune, Mon. Destoucher, Chevalier De Médine, Captains.
Chaplains, Abbé's Meurnai and Queruche.

In July, 1780, the army of Rochambeau had arrived at Newport, the fleet being commanded by De Terney. After his death Destouches took command of the fleet.

In March, 1781, Admiral Hood, commanding the English fleet at New York, left there for the Chesapeake Bay.

On learning this, Destouches made sail for the Bay with the intention of disputing the entry of the English fleet. He had eight vessels, having captured the *Romulus*. Hood's fleet was numerically equal, but superior in artillery. Destouches attacked it on March 16th, notwithstanding the disadvantage of wind. The battle was furious

and three of Hood's ships were disabled. The advantage was with the French, but because of head winds, could not follow the enemy and prevent him from entering Chesapeake Bay. The French squadron returned to Newport.

Though the expedition had failed the moral effect was considerable. Washington, on April 3d, wrote Rochambeau, sending him an account given by the enemy of the combat. "From his confession three of his vessels were dismantled and as they do not brag, as they are always disposed to do, to have obtained any advantage it is evident, in their own opinion, that they have nothing about which to glorify themselves." Congress voted its particular thanks to Chevalier Destouches and to the officers and crews under his orders for the "bravery, firmness and valiant conduct which they manifested in the last enterprise against the enemy, notwithstanding that unexpected events have prevented the execution of the project, the vigorous combat of against the enemy's superior force, does honor to the arms of his Very Catholic Majesty and is a happy presage of decisive victories for the United States."

The French loss, 51 killed and 41 wounded on the Conquérant's; 19 killed and 35 wounded on the Ardent; 5 killed and 1 wounded on the the Jason; 6 killed and 5 wounded on the *Duc de Bourgoyne*; 4 killed and 2 wounded on the *Neptune*; 2 killed and 1 wounded on the *Romulus*; 1 killed and 3 wounded on the *L'Eveille*; 1 killed and 7 wounded on the *Provinre*. The L'Eveille, commanded by M. De la Villebrune, particularly distinguished itself when the *London* of 98 guns, attempted to cut the French line the L'Eveille, of but 64 guns, prevented Admiral Hood from executing his manoeuvre.

While all these events were going on, Count de Grasse was fitting out an expedition. It sailed from Brest, March 22, 1781.

ADDRESS OF THE CANADIAN CLERGY OF QUEBEC TO KING GEORGE III.

(Canadian Archives, Series 2, vol. II, p. 23.)

To His Most Excellent Majesty George III, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Sovereign Lord of Canada, etc., etc, etc.

If your Most Excellent Majesty designs to allow that

We the most submissive and faithful Canadian subjects of your Most Excellent Majesty, of the city and district of Quebec, take the liberty to prostrate ourselves at the foot of the Throne, there to offer our most humble thanks for the Royal approbation which it has pleased your Most Excellent Majesty to give to the Act most solidly regulating the government of our province.

We make bold to assure you, our hearts are full of the liveliest gratitude and most profound respect, that we, as well as our posterity, will never forget the paternal treatment with your Most Excellent Majesty and your august Parliament have deigned to favor us, in assuring to us the free exercise of our religion, our ancient laws, customs and usages, security in the possession of our property, the extension of our boundaries and of our commerce, and the enjoyments of all the rights, prerogatives and advantages of British subjects. By this equitable Act, we no longer have reason to fear the jealousy of the neighboring Provinces, and we pay no attention to the complaints of the very small number of former subjects residing in this Province who seem chagrined at our future well-being. We entreat your Most Excellent Majesty to deign to be persuaded that if any among us have been, through untoward circumstances, drawn into their party, their hearts have no part therein.

Will your Most Excellent Majesty allow us also to return you our most humble thanks for having restored to us according to our wishes General Carleton, whose wisdom, prudence, equity and kindness lead us to hope that he will indeed, in accordance with the good intentions of your Majesty, make us enjoy the favors that it has pleased you to grant us?

We will never cease, as it is our duty, to send up prayers to heaven for the preservation and prosperity of your Most Excellent Majesty, of the whole Royal Family, and of the Crown of Great Britain.

CIRCULARS REGARDING THE CANADIAN MILITIA ISSUED BY CATHOLIC AUTHORITY IN 1775.

[*From Quebec Archives.*]

Sir:— TRANSLATION.

Always careful to load the Province confided to him with honors and benefits, His Excellency General Carleton today adds a new favor to those already conferred by him by the re-establishment of the militia in this province. This is an efficacious means of maintaining order in our parishes and polity among our country people; and it is at the same time a mark of esteem and confidence in which he honors every individual of the Province, and, above, all those whom he appoints to military situations he does not wish to choose except inasmuch as his choice may be agreeable to the public. I do not doubt but that this occasion will imprint on every heart a gratitude proportionate to the benefit conferred and . . . . . worthy of the Canadian reputation.

This is what you must be careful to impress upon them all in reading on the first Holy Day, at the close of the parochial Mass, and in affixing to the door of the church in the accustomed manner, the proclamation and the letter which are addressed to you by His Excellency.

I am with respect, Sir, yours etc. MONTGOLFIER.

Montreal, 13, June 1775.

[Montgolfier was Superior of the Jesuits. He had been, after the capture of Canada by England, elected Bishop of Quebec to succeed Bishop Pontbriand, who died during the War. He went to England, but was not permitted to go farther to be consecrated.]

[MSS. copy in French of above in the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia.]

CATHOLIC HESSIANS IN THE REVOLUTION.

From "*The Hessians and the other German Auxiliaries of Great Britain,*" by Edward J. Lowell, we learn:

"In the War of the American Revolution six German rulers let out their soldiers to Great Britain. There were Frederick II, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; William, his son, an independent Count of Hesse-Hanau; Charles I, Duke of Brunswick; Frederick, Prince of Waldeck; Charles Alexander, Margrave of Anspach-Beryreuth; and Frederick Augustus, Prince of Anhalt-Zerbst.

The most important was Frederick II, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. The Prince was the Catholic ruler of a Protestant people. His first wife had been an English princess, a daughter of George II. She had separated herself from the Landgrave on his conversion to Catholicity and retired to Hanau. At the time of the American Revolution the Landgrave was living with his second wife. He was about sixty years old and one of the least disreputable of the princes who sent mercenaries to America.

Sixteen thousand, nine hundred and ninety-two men he sent to America. "The answer to the treaty was the Declaration of Independence."

His son, William, and heir apparent, governed the independent country of Hanau. He was the first to offer in August, 1775, a regiment to George III. He obtained a higher price per man than any one of his competitors except his father. He sent two thousand, four hundred and twenty-two men to America. Duke Charles I reigned over Brunswick-Luneburg. He sent five thousand, seven hundred and twenty-three.

Margrave Charles Alexander governed Anspach and Bayreuth and sent two thousand, three hundred and fifty-three men.

The Prince of Waldeck sent one thousand, two hundred and twenty-five.

Frederick Augustus, Prince of Anhalt-Zerbst, sent one thousand, one hundred and sixty.

Hesse-Hanau sent two thousand, four hundred and twenty-two.

Waldeck sent twelve hundred and twenty-five.

The total was twenty-nine thousand, eight hundred and seventy-five. Of this number twelve thousand, five hundred and sixty-two did not return to Germany. Some were killed of wounds or sickness,

others deserted and some remained in America after peace had been declared.

Most of these poor fellows did not fight for pay at all, but fought because they could not help it.

The shame belonged to their princes and not to themselves. Many of them became, in the end, citizens of the Republic they were sent to destroy.

ENLISTMENT RECORD OF A CATHOLIC HESSIAN.

From the *Papers of General Washington*, in the Library of Congress, Vol. 1, page 303:

CAPITULATION.

His Serene Highness, the Duke of Brunswick, having thought fit to complete and strengthen his Serene Dragoon Regiment, all his Infantry Regiments and his Rifle Corps and committed the recruiting to me, the subscriber, Colonel Riedesel, Lord of Eisenback, and me, thereunto authorizing. Therefore, have herewith engaged Anthony Nasselbend, born in Kirchshagon, age 21 years— months. Religion, Catholic; measuring 5 feet, 7 inches, as a Ranger of horse, and promise him his usual Brunswick pay and more than double the pay in case of a March, besides bread and other emoluments and capitulation of six years, after which determination he shall be discharged without hindrance.

Given at Headquarters, Wolfenbutte, January 20, 1776.

RIEDESEL,

COLONEL AND CHIEF OF A DRAGOON AND INDEPENDENT REGIMENT.

Translation from the original in the German language.

COPY. RICHD. VARICK, JUNR.

THREE THOUSAND CATHOLIC HESSIANS.

From *Washington's Papers*, Vol. XI, p 304.

The examination of Anthony Fasselabord of Colonel Riedesel's Regiment of Dragoons, who deserted at Montreal, the 24th of June with nineteen others, but does not know what became of them.

Says that in February, 2000 Hessians, 3000 Brunswickers, and 3000 Westphalians, the latter all Roman Catholics, embarked on board forty-six Dutch vessels at Staad in Hanover and sailed for America. That forty-three of these arrived at Quebec the 27th of May, the other three being blown off from the fleet in afternoon about Easter and

supposed to be lost. That some time in June, the whole marched for Montreal where they arrived the latter end of the same month. That 500 Westphalians and Brunsw. troops were drafted as Dragoons, horses purchased in Canada and daily trained for that purpose, 500 more were drafted as riflemen. The whole are new recruits from 16 to 22 years of age. Quartered at Longueul opposite Montreal under the command of Col. Belvnik of the Brunswick Troops.

That at Quebec, ten of the Germans had deserted. One was afterwards taken and at Languieul was ordered to run the gauntlet through 300 men, but the whole of the German troops mutinied, owing to their not receiving their pay and provisions as promised them, refused to inflict the punishment and were going to murder the General, but Col. Belvnik quieted them with promises of their receiving their allowances regularly for the future.

On October 17, 1777, General Burgoyne's Army surrendered at Saratoga to General Gates. The Brunswick Hessians taken prisoners were sent to Winter Hill near Cambridge, Massachusetts, where they remained until November, 1778, when they were obliged to march to Charlottesville and Staunton and Winchester, Virginia, where they arrived the middle of January. Most of them remained until the end of the war in these localities. The camps were under the superintendency of Col. Bland of Virginia.

FATHER THEOBALD, HESSIAN CHAPLAIN.

The following letter is from the BLAND PAPERS in possession of the Bland family of Virginia, published at Petersburg, Virginia, in 1840. It is written in French and addressed to General Washington. It is doubtful if it ever reached Washington. It was probably given to Col. Bland, who had the superintendency of the Hessian Prisoners in Virginia, to forward to Washington. That it was among his Revolutionary Papers indicates its non-delivery.

The name of Chaplain Theobald does not appear in the list of Chaplains given in Rosengarten's *German Allies*.

The records do not show whether the Chaplains whose names are given were Catholics or Protestants. As there were many Catholic among the Hessians—three thousand among the Westphalians—a Chaplain was as necessary for them as were any of the other Chaplains

for the Protestants. Perhaps the nearly twenty-five hundred sent from Hesse-Hanau were Catholics and so justified a Chaplain.

The letter too was written in French. It speaks of a curé offered him two years before at Albany. This may have been to minister to the Canadians in the two Regiments of CONGRESS' OWN, commanded by Col. Livingston, which guarded the Hudson River, or that of Col. Moses Hazen, which in 1777, was engaged in Gen. Sullivan's campaigns. For either or both of these Regiments Father Theobald may have been invited to attend the Canadian and Irish soldiers.

Nothing further has been discovered concerning this Hessian chaplain.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, 1779.

It is now the fourth year that I have been engaged in the regiment of Hesse-Hanan, which is at present in captivity in Virginia. While in capacity of Chaplain to that Regiment, I have been exceedingly maltreated by my commander, from the very commencement of my service to the present time. And on that account, I felt myself obliged to apply for my dismissal to my prince; which I have done at different times, but still in vain have expected an answer. The situation in which I find myself at present—overwhelmed with chagrin, without resources and almost without hope of again soon revisiting my native country; all this compels me to have recourse to your Excellency, and to beg you to grant me permission to go away from this place to Albany, and to accept there a curé that was offered me two years ago. Your Excellency may be assured that I am not a man of false principles, who makes professon to one and deserts to another. On entering his service I did not take the oath of allegiance to his Brittanic majesty and therefore can quit it with a clear conscience. In the hope of a favorable answer, I am your Excellency's very humble servant, etc.—[*Bland Papers*, p 144 vol. 1. Petersburg, Va. 1840.]

HESSIANS AT CHARLOTTESVILLE.

PAROLE OF DR. W. B. [OR A. B.] CARROLL.

I do hereby promise and declare, on my parole of honor and on the faith of a gentleman, that I will not during my journey from the post at Charlottesville to Charles Carroll's Esq, near Annapolis, by any means, directly or indirectly, by word, writing or [in any manner] say or do anything to the prejudice of the United States of America, or any one of them, or the inhabitants thereof, that I will not hold

conversation in order to obtain a knowledge of the situation or state of the armies, encampments, fortune or finances of the United States, so that I may communicate intelligence thereof to the enemies of the United States, that I will on my arrival put myself under the guidance and direction of his Excellency, Governor Johnston, and not exceed such limits during my residence in Maryland, or on my return to the Continental army, as he shall prescribe to me ; and on my arrival at Charles Carroll's Esq, I will announce it to his Excellency, the Governor of Maryland and deliver to him a copy of this, my parole.

W. B. CARROLL, JR., 20th Reg't.

It is difficult to determine to which Charles Carroll this Dr. Carroll was on his way to. There were at that time three of the name in Maryland and two at or near Annapolis. Of the latter, Charles Carroll [of Carrollton] lived at Annapolis, and Charles Carroll, the barrister-at-law, a Protestant, lived in the same county and probably "near Annapolis." So it is likely the Doctor from the Hessian camp was on the way to the latter.

Were they related? Dr. Carroll signing "20th Regiment" and giving a parole shows he was in the British service.

Irish Regiments in British Service.

On June 20, 1776, the President of the French Navy Board, at Versailles, wrote to M. de La Touche that the Journal of M. de Montazeand, which he had received, showed he had met not far from San Domingo an English fleet under Admiral Porter. His presence in these regions might cause uneasiness. But there is no doubt this admiral was carried away to the South by incidents in his navigation—that he was really going to Virginia or the Carolinas. Little to hear from San Domingo, as Parker's fleet, which sailed from Cork, only conveyed a few Irish regiments. "Cannot understand how the officers of this squadron could know that 6,000 Hessians had gone into England's pay to serve against the English Colonies as this arrangement could not be known in Ireland when Parker's squadron sailed."—*Canadian Archives*, 1905, p. 421.

THE CANADIANS FRIENDLY TO THE COLONIES, BUT THE CLERGY AND NOBLES AIDED BY THE MISCONDUCT OF THE AMERICANS, KEPT CANADA LOYAL TO ENGLAND.

There is ample testimony to show that the Canadians were not only not hostile to the cause of the Americans, but where they were not neutral they were avowed supporters of the "Bostonnais."

Though the Quebec Act, "Establishing Popery in Canada," as it was said, gave the Canadians the benefit of their former laws of France respecting the Church it also imposed the tithe system for the support of the Church on the people. That was one cause of dissatisfaction, and so of favor toward the Americans, though possibly it may not have been the reason for the disapproval of that Act by Father Floquet. Indeed it is probable that it was the chief cause, adding to the hope of a possible restoration of the rule of France when England was restoring some of the laws of that country and one which imposed a legal obligation to support the Church.

A few citations of testimony showing their favorable attitude toward the Americans may be presented as indicative of the force of many.

John Duguia, who had lived in Canada for sixteen months, made oath at Philadelphia, August 2, 1775, that the "Canadians will not take up arms on either side, but wish to remain *neutre*; that when the officers appointed by Governor Carleton attempted to force the Canadians to take up arms, about 3000 of them assembled and obliged the officers to quit their purpose and return home, that the son of Dr. Chambeault, one of the principal seigneurs of Canada,

had a commission to raise men, but attempting it was disarmed by the people and escaped to Montreal; that his father came next day and was obliged to go thither likewise; that the Canadians were headed by M. L. Artifice; that they have arms but no ammunition but what they got from the merchants.

The Canadians about Quebec were disposed to be neutral, as well as those about St. John, but that the priests and seigneurs were stimulating them to take up arms against the Colonies; that on account of the new laws, which imposed the same taxes that were levied by the King of France, the Canadians were very much disobliged and declare they will oppose the taxes to the utmost.—[*Am. Ar.*, Vol. 3, p. 13—4th Series.]

Major John Brown wrote to Governor Trumbull, from Crown Point, August 14, 1775:

"Now is the time to carry Canada. It may be done with great ease and little cost, and I have no doubt the Canadians would join us. There is great defection among them. They have lately raised a mob. Fired on the French officers lately appointed and taken away their commissions.—[*Am. Ar.*, Vol. 3, p. 136. Series 4.]

A letter from Ticonderoga, August 4, 1775, said:

The Canadians are determined not to fight against us unless forced by a formidable army. About three weeks ago an attempt was made to force the Canadians to take up arms, and they were about to hang some in every parish, when the Canadians rose in a body of near 3000 men, disarmed the officer that was after recruits, and made him flee, being determinded to defend themselves in the best manner they could by a full resistance, rather than be forced to arm against the Colonies. The common people there cannot bear to have the old French laws take the place again among them, as they will be thereby plunged into enormous taxes.—[*Am. Ar.*, Vol. 3, p. 26, 4th series.]

"As to the Acadians, I have dwelt among them nearly twenty years and am well acquainted with their manners and ways. They are to a man wholly inclined to the cause of America."—[Sparks' *Writings of Washington*. Vol III, p. 336. *Note.*]

General Washington to Gen. Schuyler, Cambridge Camp, August 15, 1775:

"Several Indians of the tribe of St. Francois came in yesterday and confirmed the former accounts of the good dispositions of the

Indian natives and Canadians to the interests of America."—[*Am. Ar.*, 3 Vol., p. 144—4th Series.]

Gen. Schuyler at Ticonderoga received from James Livingston a letter dated at St. Terese, Sept. 8, 1775, saying: The Canadians are all friends.

A letter from Quebec, August 20, 1775, to a gentleman in Scotland said: There is no persuading the country people here. Emissaries from the Rebels have made them believe that they are only come into the country to protect them from heavy taxes which Parliament designs to lay upon them.—[*Am. Ar.*, Vol. 3, p. 211. 4th Series.]

Thomas Gamble, writing from Quebec, Sept. 6, 1775, to Gen. Gage, the British Commander at Boston, said: The Canadians' minds are all poisoned by emissaries from New England and the damned rascals of merchants here and at Montreal. General Carleton is, I believe, afraid to order out the militia lest they should refuse to obey. In short, the Quebec Bill is of no use; on the contrary the Canadians talk of that damned word, Liberty.—[*Am. Ar.*, 3, p. 963. 4th Series.]

The *Journal* of Captain Henry Dearborn in the expedition against Quebec, 1775, records:

Nov. 5th. The people are very ignorant, but seem to be very kind to us.

6th. The inhabitants appear to be very kind, but ask a great price for their victuals.

16th. Three quarters of a mile from the Walls of Quebec. We sent a company of men today to take possession of the General Hospital, which is a very large pile of buildings about three quarters of a mile from the Walls of Quebec. In this building is a nunnery of the first order in Canada, where at present there are about thirty-five nuns. The Canadians are constantly coming to us and are expressing the greatest satisfaction at our coming into the country.—(p. 14.)

19th. We . . . . marched up to Point Aux-Trumble, about seven leagues from Quebec. There are a number of handsome chapels by the way. We found the people very kind to us.

21st. The Curate of the Parish dines at headquarters today. —[*Pro. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1886.]

Col. Timothy Bigelow, of 15th Mass. Reg't, wrote from Chaudier Point, Oct. 28, 1775: "We have this minute received news

that the inhabitants of Canada are all friendly and very much rejoiced at our coming."—[Page 29 of *Ceremonies at Ded. of Bigelow Monument.* Unveiled April 19, 1861.]

Letters from parish of St. Thomas, 12 leagues below Quebec, Jan. 27, 1776:

"The inhabitants of the country are enlisting and are to a man for the Americans, and say that if the army is not able to take the town they will do it themselves, for if it is not taken that in the Spring they will be ruined by the English for doing what they have."—[*Pa. Journal*, Mar. 20, 1776.]

The address of the general officers to the soldiers of the Grand Continental Army, issued at Cambridge, Nov. 24, 1775, said:

Canada, from whence your tyrants proposed to pour forth whole hosts to your destruction, keeps pace with, if not surpasses, the English Colonies themselves, in zeal and ardour for the common rights of America

A SOLDIER OF THE REVOLUTION, PRISONER IN CANADA, CARED FOR BY NUNS.

[From Pro. Delaware Hist. Soc.; Vol. 1., p. 28.]

Extracts from diary of Gen. Francis Nichols, captured during Gen. Arnold's expedition against Quebec:

Nichols was 2d Lieutenant of Capt. William Hendrick's Co., transferred to 1st Penna., and left service as Major of 9th Regt. Died at Pottstown, Pa., February 13, 1812.

March 10, 1776, was removed to the Hotel Dieu, sick of the scarlet fever, and placed under the care of the Mother Abbess, where I had fresh provisions and good attendance. For several nights the nuns sat up with me, four at a time, every two hours. Here I feigned myself sick after I had recovered, for fear of being sent back to the Seminary to join my fellow-officers, and was not discharged until I acknowledged that I was well. When I think of my captivity I shall never forget the time spent among the nuns who treated me with so much humanity.

June 28th. The Bishop and merchants of the city subscribed a sum of money for our relief, but our pride would not allow us to accept it. When the Lieutenant Governor heard of it he was much displeased, as he was fearful the news would get to England that we had so many friends in the city.

July 2d. For some time past we have had the privilege of walking in the Bishop's garden and to the wall, where we had a prospect of the shipping in the harbor and the lower town. On General Carleton's leaving the city the command devolved on the Lieutenant Governor, who issued the order depriving us of these privileges and forbidding our conversing with any persons except in the presence of the officer of the guard.

[Later Gen. Carleton returned from Montreal. Nichols speaks of him as "the only friend we had in the city." All accounts of the captives in Canada agree that General Carleton was kind and careful to the prisoners and treated them with the best possible humanity.]

When granted a parole, Gen. Carleton sent supplies for the journey home. The Bishop also presented us with two casks of wines, eight loaves of sugar and several pounds of green tea. We declined, as we had resolved before leaving home not to use it during the contest, and coffee was sent in lieu of it.

ADDRESS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS TO THE OPPRESSED INHABITANTS OF CANADA.

Monday, May 29, 1775.

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The Committee to whom the Letter to the Inhabitants of *Canada* was recommitted, brought in a draught, which was read, and approved, and is as follows:

"*To the Oppressed Inhabitants of* CANADA.

"FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN:—Alarmed by the designs of an arbitrary Ministry to extirpate the rights and liberties of all *America*, a sense of common danger conspired with the dictates of humanity in urging us to call your attention, by our late address, to this very important object.

"Since the conclusion of the late war, we have been happy in considering you as fellow-subjects; and from the commencement of the present plan for subjugating the Continent, we have viewed you as fellow-sufferers with us. As we were both entitled by the bounty of an indulgent Creator to freedom, and being both devoted by the cruel edicts of a despotick Administration, to common ruin, we perceived the fate of the Protestant and Catholick Colonies to be strongly linked together, and therefore invited you to join with us in resolving to be free, and in rejecting, with disdain, the fetters of slavery, however artfully polished.

"We most sincerely condole with you on the arrival of that day, in the course of which the sun could not shine on a single freeman in all your extensive dominion. Be assured, that your unmerited degradation has engaged the most unfeigned pity of your sister Colonies; and we flatter ourselves you will not, by tamely bearing the yoke, suffer that pity to be supplanted by contempt.

"When hardy attempts are made to deprive men of rights bestowed by the Almighty, when avenues are cut through the most solemn compacts for the admission of despotism, when the plighted faith of Government ceases to give security to dutiful subjects, and when the insidious stratagems and manœuvres of peace become more terrible than the sanguinary operations of war, it is high time for them to assert those rights, and, with honest indignation, oppose the torrent of oppression rushing in upon them.

"By the introduction of your present form of Government, or

rather present form of tyranny, you and your wives and your children are made slaves. You have nothing that you can call your own, and all the fruits of your labour and industry may be taken from you whenever an avaricious Governor and a rapacious Council may incline to demand them. You are liable by their edicts to be transported into foreign Countries to fight battles in which you have no interest, and to spill your blood in conflicts from which neither honour nor emolument can be derived: nay, the enjoyment of your very Religion, on the present system, depends on a Legislature in which you have no share, and over which you have no control, and your priests are exposed to expulsion, banishment, and ruin, whenever their wealth and possessions furnish sufficient temptation. They cannot be sure that a virtuous Prince will always fill the throne and should a wicked or careless King concur with a wicked Ministry in extracting the treasure and strength of your Country, it is impossible to conceive to what variety and to what extremes of wretchedness you may, under the present establishment, be reduced.

"We are informed you have already been called upon to waste your lives in a contest with us. Should you, by complying in this instance, assent to your new establishment and a war break out with *France*, your wealth and your sons may be sent to perish in expeditions against their Islands in the *West Indies*.

"It cannot be presumed that these considerations will have no weight with you, or that you are so lost to all sense of honour. We can never believe that the present race of *Canadians* are so degenerated as to possess neither the spirit, the gallantry, nor the courage of their ancestors. You certainly will not permit the infamy and disgrace of such pusillanimity to rest on your own heads, and the consequences of it on your children forever.

"We, for our parts, are determined to live free, or not at all; and are resolved, that posterity shall never reproach us with having brought slaves into the world.

"Permit us again to repeat that we are your friends, not your enemies, and be not imposed upon by those who may endeavor to create animosities. The taking of the fort and military stores at *Ticonderoga* and *Crown Point*, and the armed vessels on the lake, was dictated by the great law of self-preservation. They were intended to annoy us, and to cut off that friendly intercourse and communication, which has hitherto subsisted between you and us.

We hope it has given you no uneasiness, and you may rely on our assurances, that these Colonies will pursue no measures whatever, but such as friendship and a regard for our mutual safety and interest may suggest.

"As our concern for your welfare entitles us to your friendship we presume you will not, by doing us injury, reduce us to the disagreeable necessity of treating you as enemies.

"We yet entertain hopes of your uniting with us in the defence of our common liberty, and there is yet reason to believe, that should we join in imploring the attention of our Sovereign to the unmerited and unparalleled oppressions of his *American* subjects, he will at length be undeceived, and forbid a licentious Ministry any longer to riot in the ruins of the rights of mankind."

Ordered, That the above Letter be signed by the President.

Ordered, That Mr. *Dickinson* and Mr. *Mifflin* be a Committee to get the Letter translated into the *French* language, and to have one thousand copies of it, so translated, printed, in order to be sent to *Canada*, and dispersed among the inhabitants there.

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS.

The New York Provincial Congress on June 2, 1775, issued an Address to the Inhabitants of Quebec in which it was said:

"The Parent of the universe has divided this earth among the children of men and drawn out the line of their habitations. The great God having ordained that all our joys and sorrows here below should proceed from the effect of human actions upon human beings, our situation has drawn together this great bond of natural dependence, and enabled us to deal out injuries and kindness to each other. We consider you as our friends and feel for you the affection of brothers.* * *

"Avoid those measures which must plunge us both into distress, and instead of consenting to become miserable slaves, generously dare to participate with your fellow subjects in the sweets of that security which is the glorious lot of freedom."—[*Am. Ar.*, 4th S., Vol. 2, p 893].

COMMISSIONED OFFICERS OF THE NAVY OF THE REVOLUTION.

The following document does not wholly relate to CATHOLICS AND THE REVOLUTION, but as it is an original manuscript not before published it is of historical importance. No such complete list of the Continental Navy officers has heretofore been published, as *The General Register of the United States Navy*, by Hamersly, is incomplete and Goldsborough's *Naval Chronicle*, Vol. I, contains the same list. The list herewith given contains the names of forty-five captains and commanders, one hundred and thirty lieutenants, and one hundred and thirty-four marine officers.

This record was obtained from the NAVY DEPARTMENT LIBRARY AND NAVAL WAR RECORDS. It was sent THE RESEARCHES by direct personal order of Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte, when Secretary of the Navy, to whom application had been made.

A list of the Commissioned Officers who served in the Navy of the United States in the late war, 1775-1783.

Copied from the original manuscript list sent to President Washington by Secretary-at-War Knox and now preserved with letters, records and papers of General Washington that form part of the National Archives in the custody of the Department of State:

CAPTAINS AND COMMANDERS.

Esek Hopkins	He was Commander-in-Chief and was suspended in March, 1777.
James Nicholson	
John Manly	Dead.
Hector McNeil	Dead.
Dudley Saltonstall	Broke by Court Martial Oct. 1779.
Nicholas Biddle	Blown up in the Randolph Frigate, March, 1778.
Thomas Thompson	Broke by Court Martial, July 1778.
John Barry	
Thomas Read	Dead.
Thomas Gunnel	Dead.
Charles Alexander	Dead.
Lambert Wickes	Lost in the Reprisal, Oct. 1777.
Abraham Whipple	
John B. Hopkins	Suspended in May, 1778.

John Hodge .....
William Hallack .....
Hoysted Hacker .....
Isaiah Robinson .....Dead.
John P. Jones .....Dead.
James Josiah .....
Elisha Hinman .....Broke.
Joseph Olney .....Suspended in 1779.
James Robinson .....Dead.
John Young .....Lost in the Saratoga, March 1781.
Elisha Warner .....Dead.

The rank of the above 24 Captains was fixed in the order in which they stand by Act of Congress of the 10th October, 1776.

Peter Brewster.....Supposed to be lost at sea.
Samuel Nicholson .....
John Nicholson .....
Henry Johnson .....
John P. Rathbon.....Dead.
Peter Landais .....Broke by Court Martial in 1780.
Daniel Waters .....
Thomas Simpson .....Dead.
Samuel Tucker.....
Samuel Chew .....Dead.
William Pickles .....Dead.
John Green .....
John Skimmer .....Dead.
William Burke .....Resigned.
Seth Harding .....
Silas Talbot .....
Gustavus Cunningham .....
Benjamin Dunn .....
John Ayres .....Dead.
William Stone .....
John Hazard .....

LIEUTENANTS.

Thomas Albertson .....Dead.
John Baldwin.....Dead.
John Stevens .....

(These three lieutenants were appointed to command vessels.)

John Angus ..... Resigned.
James Armitage ..... Discharged.
Blaney Allison ..... Dead.
Joseph Adams ..... Deserted.
Rhodes Arnold .....
Robert Adamson .....
Jacob Brooks .....
Philip Brown .....
Joshua Barney .....
John Ballenger ..... Discharged
Ezekiel Burroughs .....
John Brown .....
Benjamin Bates .....
Isaac Buck .....
William Barnes ..... Lost in the Randolph.
George Batson ..... Dead.
Christ. Bradley .....
Elijah Bowen .....
Samuel Cardal .....
David Cullam .....
John Channing .....
Silas Devol .....
Arthur Dillaway ..... Dead.
James Degge .....
Peter Deville .....
Richard Dale .....
William Dunlap .....
William Dennis ..... Resigned.
Patrick Fletcher .....
Robert French .....
John Fanning .....
Joshua Fanning ..... Lost in the Randolph.
Nichs. E. Gardner .....
Joseph Greenway .....
William Gamble ..... Resigned.
Simon Gross .....
Stephen Gregory .....
William Grinnell .....
Robert Harris ..... He lost an arm and is now a pensioner of the United States.

John Hennesey ..... Broke.
James Handy ..... Quit the service without leave.
George House .....
Stephen Hill ..... Deserted.
Abra'm Hawkins .....
Elijah Hall .....
Esek Hopkins, Jr. ..... Resigned.
Robert Hume .....
Aquilla Johns ..... Resigned.
John Kemp ..... Discharged October 15, 1779.
Michael Knies ..... Dead.
John Kerr ..... Ran off with a prize.
Benjamin Knight .....
Edward Leger ..... Discharged.
William Leeds .....
John Lewis ..... Resigned.
Muscoe Livingston ..... Resigned July 27, 1778.
Richard Marvin .....
Luke Mathewman ..... Dead.
John McIvers ..... Resigned March 11, 1777.
William Moran .....
Robert Martin .....
Jonathan Malbee .....
Alex. Murray .....
John McDougal ..... Lost in the Randolph.
William Mollison .....
Robert Pomeroy ..... Deserted.
David Porter ..... Resigned.
Jonathan Pitcher .....
David Phipps .....
Benjamin Page .....
William Potts .....
James Pine ..... Lost in the Saratoga.
James Robertson ..... Dead.
John Rodez .....
Benjamin Reed ..... Resigned.
Peter Rosseau .....
Peter Richards .....

Robert Scott ..... Discharged September 19, 1776.
Peter Shores ..... Disgraced.
John Sleymaker .....
Joshia Shackford ..... Resigned.
John Scott .....
Robert Saunders .....
Matthew Tibbs .....
Adam W. Thaxter..... Dead.
Joseph Vesey ..... Dead.
Thomas Vaughan ..... Dead.
Richard Wickes ..... Killed on board the Reprisal.
Robert Wilson ..... Resigned April 8, 1777.
James Wilson ..... Dead.
David Welch .....
Hezekiah Welch .....
John Wheelwright .....
Jacob White .....
Hopley Yeaton .....
Samuel York ..... Resigned July 8, 1779.
Josiah Audibert .....
William Barron .....
Daniel Bears .....
Benjamin Barron .....
Edward Burke ..... Deserted.
Charles Bulkley .....
Seth Clarke.....
George Champlin .....
William Dupar.....
Joseph Doble .....
Wilford Fisher .....
James Grinwell .....
William Hopkins .....
Christr. Hopkins .....
William Ham .....
George Lovie .....
John Margisson .....
John Moran .....
William Morrison .....
Cutting Lunt .....

Henry Lunt .....
Isaac Olney .....
James Sellers .....
Daniel Starr .....
Benjamin Seabury .....
John Scranton .....
Nicolas Scull.....
James Stephens .....
Marie Sevel Dorie .....
John Robinson.....
Jacob White .....
Thomas Weaver .....
Daniel Vaughan.....

MARINE OFFICERS.

Captains.

Samuel Nicolas .....Major of Marines.
Edward Arrowsmith .....
Seth Bexter .....
Abraham Boyce.....
Isaac Craig .....Resigned.
Benjamin Dean .....Resigned July 12, 1777.
James Disney .....
William Holton .....Broke December 11, 1778.
Joseph Hardy .....
William Jones .....
Dennis Leary .....
Robert Mullen .....Dead.
William Morris.....
Geo. Jerry Osborn .....
Andrew Porter .....Resigned.
Richard Palmes .....
Matthew Parke .....
Gilbert Saltonstall .....
Elihu Trowbridge .....Deserted.
Miles Pennington.....Dead.
John Hazard .....
John Welch .....
Samuel Shaw .....Lost in the Randolph.

John Stewart .....
Joseph Shoemaker.....
John Elliott .....Dead.
John Trevitt.....
William Mathewman .....
William Nicholson.....
Robert Elliott .....
———— Rice .....
———— Spence .....

MARINE OFFICERS.

Lieutenants.

Peter Bedford .....Resigned July 5, 1779.
Gurdon Bill .....
David Bill..... .Dead.
William Barney .....Dead.
Peregrine Brown .....
James Cokely .....Resigned.
John Chilton .....Dead.
David Cullam.....
Panatier De la Falconier .....
John Fitzpatrick .....Dead.
Thomas Elwood..... ....
William Gilmore ....Went into the land service.
Samuel Gamage .....Resigned.
Peter Green .....
Benjamin Huddle .....
Daniel Henderson .....Lost at sea.
Richard Harrison .....
James Hamilton .....
Samuel Holt .....
John Harris .....
William Jennison.....
David Love .....
James McClure.....Resigned.
Abel Morgan .....Resigned.
Hugh Montgomery .....Resigned.
Robert McNeal .....Resigned April 5, 1778.
Stephen Meade .....

William Morris.....
Alexander Neilson .....Resigned April 5, 1778.
Samuel Powars .....
Thomas Pownal .....
Samuel Prichard .....
Thomas Plunkett .....
Avery Parker .....
Jerry Reed .....
Franklin Reed .....
Jabez Smith .....Dead.
Daniel Starr .....
Walter Spooner .....
George Trumbull .....Discharged March 4, 1778.
Nathaniel Twing .....Resigned.
Thomas Turner .....
Zebulon Varnam .....
Abraham Vandyke.....
Jacob White .....
James Warren .....
William Waterman .....
———— Wadsworth .....
James Warren .....
Jonathan Woodworth .....
Samuel Wallingsworth .....
James H. Wilson .....
Abraham Boyce.....Afterwards appointed Captain of Marines.
William Barney .....
Henry Becker .....
James Connolly .....Dead.
Seth Chapin .....
James Clark .....
Robert Cummings .....
Henry Dayton .....
Robert Davis .....
John Dimsdell .....
William Cooper .....
Benjamin Catlin .....
Thomas Etting .....

Stephen Earl .....
Thomas Fitzgerald .....
William Fielding .....
Zebadiah Farnham .....
John Guignace .....
Samuel Hempsted .....
John Harris .....
William Hamilton .
Jonas Hamilton ..
Roger Haddock
William Huddle .
Robert Hunter..
Eugene McCarthy
Peter Manifold
Jonathan Mix.....
Richard McClure .
Charles McHarron ..
——— Kelly ....
Daniel Longstreet ..
William Radford .
Alpheus Rice .....
Nathl. Richards .....
I. M. Strobach .....
Benjamin Thompson ....
Edmund Stack.....
Lewis De La Valette.....
Hugh Kirkpatrick .....

No regular record appears to have been kept of the appointments made in the Marine Department, and it is not to be wondered at when it is considered how many persons and boards were vested with authority to make appointments.

The foregoing list is formed from the Minutes of the Marine Committee and Navy Boards, and from the rolls of the several vessels; many of the Officers served only for a Cruise.

(Signed) DOYLE SWEENY.

Treasury Department,
Auditor's Office,
March 18, 1794.

Doyle Sweeny was a Catholic and a brother of Morgan Sweeny,

who also was a clerk in the United States Treasury Department, who died June 3, 1799, and was buried in St. Mary's graveyard the next day. Doyle Sweeny's son Philip was baptized at St. Mary's October 11, 1794. His son Edward was baptized by Rev. C. V. Keating February 11, 1792.

PATRIOTS OF NEW YORK FLY A "NO POPERY" FLAG.

New York, March 9, 1775.—Early on Monday morning preparations were made for the meeting at the Exchange. A Union flag, with a red field, was hoisted on the Liberty pole, where at 9 o'clock the Friends of Freedom assembled, and having got in proper readiness, about 11 o'clock, the body began their march to the Exchange. They were attended by music; and the standard bearers carried a large Union flag, with a blue field, on which were the following inscriptions: On one side, "George III, Rex" and "The Liberties of America. No Popery;" on the other, "The Union of the Colonies" and "The Measures of the Congress."—The *New York Journal*, March 9, 1775, and quoted in *Historical Magazine*, May, 1868.

This "No Popery" referred to the provision of the Quebec Act, passed by the British Parliament in 1774, by which the former religious rights of the clergy of Canada in the collection of tythes, which they had held under French domination, was restored to them. This was considered by the "Protestant Colonies" as "establishing Popery in Canada," with the design of using the Canadians as "fit instruments" to oppress the "Protestant Colonies."

It was really this feature of the Quebec Act that brought on the conflict. Since the conquest of Canada, propositions to introduce "prelacy" had been made and advocated. The Colonists not of the Church of England resisted these endeavors. There was for years much controversy on the subject by means of the newspapers and pamphlets.

Samuel Adams, on behalf of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, wrote to the London agent of that Province in 1768:

"The establishment of a Protestant Episcopate in America is also very zealously contended for, and it is very alarming to a people whose fathers, from the hardships they suffered under such an establishment, were obliged to fly their native country into a wilderness. We hope in God such an establishment will never take place in America."—[Wells' *Life of Samuel Adams*, Vol. I, p. 157.]

[*Reprinted, by permission, from Appleton's Magazine, November, 1905.*]

THE COMMODORES OF THE NAVY OF THE UNITED COLONIES

HOPKINS, JONES, BARRY.

When the Colonies by successive acts of the King and Ministry were forced, by the logic of events proceeding from their rejected appeals for redress, to take up arms to resist the oppressive measures of Great Britain, naturally, of course, their resistance took the form of a military or army force by the organization of companies or regiments effective for defense.

When this armed resistance had become so strong that the army of Washington besieged the British forces in Boston, just as naturally also came the purpose of preventing the besieged from being reenforced with provisions or ammunition by vessels bringing such supplies from across the ocean.

Rhode Island in those days was an important maritime colony. Its chief port—Newport—was the seat of a more important trade than even New York.

Resistance, not only by protest but by action, had early manifested itself in that colony and always by decisive proceedings against British vessels.

Thus Rhode Island by its maritime prominence and its many men of the sea sailing to and from its ports recognized, sooner than the other colonies, the war force of the sea and the power it could be in upholding the claim of the colonies. That colony early in the struggle maintained, as did Washington in the later years of the war, that only by an efficient sea force could the colonies continue successfully the resistance they were making and would make against Great Britain.

The Continental Congress had been maintaining an armed force on land under General Washington and so had been giving its attention to army matters throughout the colonies. In the early days nothing of record appears to show that any consideration was given by the Congress to the organization of a naval force until October 3, 1775, when the Representatives of Rhode Island presented the resolution which that Assembly on August 26th had adopted declaring: "This Assembly is persuaded that building and equipping an American fleet, as soon as possible, would greatly and essentially

conduce to the preservation of the lives, liberty, and property of the good people of these colonies, and therefore instruct their delegates to use their influence at the ensuing Congress for the building at Continental expense of a fleet of sufficient force for the protection

ESEK HOPKINS, OF RHODE ISLAND

of these colonies and employing them in such a manner and places as will most effectually annoy our enemies and contribute to the common defence of these colonies."

The subject was brought up for consideration on October 7th. John Adams tells us that some thought the project "the maddest idea," that when Rutledge, of South Carolina, moved the appointment of a committee to prepare a plan and estimate of a fleet, timid ones made the proposition a subject of such ridicule that Gadsden had to protest against his associates doing so. Silas Deane advised Congress to give it "serious debate." He did not consider it "romantic."

The thought of fitting out a fleet to combat the powerful sea force of Great Britain did, indeed, seem, even to resolute defenders of Liberty, a most foolhardy undertaking.

Deane, Langdon, and Gadsden were appointed the committee. On the 13th, Congress, "taking into consideration the report of the committee appointed to prepare a plan for intercepting vessels coming out with stores and ammunition, and after some debate, resolved" that two vessels, carrying one fourteen, the other ten guns, a proportionable number of swivels and men, should be fitted out.

On the 30th the committee reported and Congress resolved to fit out "two other armed vessels," one not exceeding twenty guns, the other not exceeding thirty-six.

The committee was increased from three to seven. The added members were Stephen Hopkins, Joseph Hewes, Richard Henry Lee, and John Adams.

Thus was begun the NAVY OF THE UNITED COLONIES. The committee on November 23d "brought in a set of rules for the government of the American Navy" which on the 25th were adopted under the title: RULES FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NAVY OF THE UNITED COLONIES.

Captain Esek Hopkins, of Rhode Island, through the influence of his brother, Stephen Hopkins, a member of the committee, was, on November 5, 1775, appointed Commander-in-chief of a fleet to be organized and of the expedition on which it would be sent.

Who was this Commander-in-chief, "Admiral," or "Commodore," as he was by courtesy called?—the first of our naval commanders to be thus titled, though not so by official designation, as these terms "Admiral" and "Commodore" became official only during our Civil War.

Esek Hopkins was born April 26, 1718, at (now) Scituate, R. I. Prior to the beginning of hostilities with "the Mother Country"

Hopkins had been engaged in the merchant sea service as captain of Rhode Island vessels.

In July, 1775, Captain James Wallace of the British fleet threatened Newport with assault unless he was furnished supplies. A town meeting ordered fortifications to be built. On August 29th Hopkins was appointed by the Town Meeting to direct a battery at Fox Hill to command the harbor. On October 4th, Hopkins was appointed Commander-in-chief with the rank of Brigadier-General. This commission he held two months and eighteen days—thus being a "General" and a "Commodore" at the same time, as it was not until December 22, 1775, that Congress approved of his appointment as Commander-in-chief.

He arrived at Philadelphia, January 14, 1776, in the *Providence*, formerly the *Katy*, of the Rhode Island fleet.

The day of Hopkins' arrival at Philadelphia is believed to be the day Lieutenant John Paul Jones "hoisted by my own hand," as he wrote, "the first American flag," when Hopkins came on board the flagship *Alfred*, commanded by Captain Saltonstall.

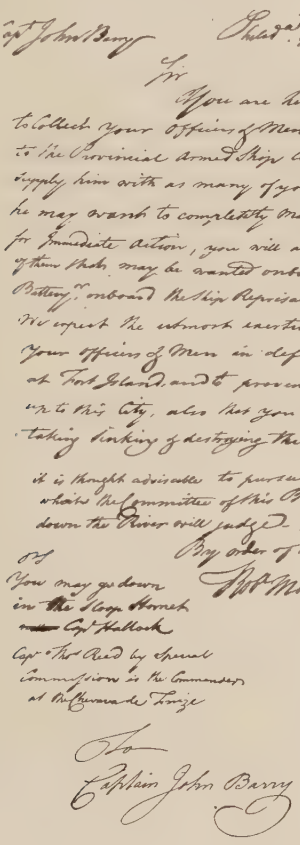
Detained by the ice in the Delaware and an epidemic of smallpox among the crew, Hopkins' fleet—the first American naval expedition—did not sail until February 17, 1776. Though it had been organized mainly to assist Charleston, S. C., yet the necessity for doing it so late did not exist. The expedition sailed further southward to the Bahama Islands, where, at New Providence, a descent was made, arms and ammunition so sorely needed by Washington's army were taken, and the Governor and other inhabitants seized as hostages. The fleet sailed homeward on St. Patrick's day, 1776, the day Washington was driving the British out of Boston—a somewhat remarkable coincidence and one worthy of being remembered on each annual recurring anniversary of Ireland's patron saint.

On the way homeward Hopkins, off Long Island, encountered the *Glasgow*, a British man-of-war. An engagement took place, but, notwithstanding the superiority of Hopkins' fleet, the *Glasgow* succeeded in escaping when, in the opinion of those not witnesses of the engagement, she ought to have been captured.

At any rate the result was not regarded by the Continental authorities as satisfactory, so that after Hopkins' arrival at New London, Conn., although he still retained command, he was not again employed in any naval ventures. Though not formally tried nor

"dismissed," as some assert, the Marine Committee of Congress adopted the plan of a reorganization of the navy and on October 10, 1776, presented Congress a list of appointed Captains among which the name of Esek Hopkins did not appear.

Thus without glory, January 2, 1778, and "dismissed," disappeared the first "Commodore"—the native-born American—Esek Hopkins.



Capt John Barry Philad.a May 8th 1776

Sir

You are hereby directed to Collect your Officers & Men and repair on board the Provincial armed Ship Capt Reed, and Supply him with as many of your People as he may want to completely Man that Ship fit for Immediate action, you will also spare any of them that may be wanted onboard the Floating Battery, onboard the Ship Reprisal and in both We expect the utmost exertions from you your Officers & Men in defending the Post at Fort Island and to prevent their coming up to this City, also that you will apply in taking Sinking & destroying the Enemy's Ships it is thought advisable to pursue them & what the Committee of this Board now down the River will judge

By order of the Marine Committee

J. Morris, Vice Pres.t

You may go down in the Sloop Hornet Capt Hallock

Capt Thos Reed by special Commission is the Commander at the Burnt Houses

To

Captain John Barry

FIRST ORDER ISSUED TO AN OFFICER OF THE COLONIAL NAVY ON ACTIVE SERVICE

In the popular mind all other active commanders in the navy of the colonies are unknown, save John Paul Jones.

Born in Scotland, and in youth known as John Paul, he, on set-

tling in America two years before the outbreak of hostilities, added "Jones" thereto.

The first mention on the records of the nation presents his name to Congress on December 22, 1775, as first on the list of lieutenants of the new navy reported by the Marine Committee for confirmation. His biographers usually state that this was the day of his appointment. Jones, however, records that he was appointed on December 7th. Concerning his appointment as Lieutenant and not a Captain, Jones recorded, in 1783, that he had been offered a captaincy, but he did not consider himself "perfect in the duties of a Lieutenant." He was appointed to the *Alfred*, commanded by Captain Saltonstall. It was the flagship of the Commander-in-chief.

The incident of raising the flag on the *Alfred* is always related with patriotic glamour as though the present Stars and Stripes was "the American flag" hoisted by Jones and the first occasion of its display as has often been stated.

Jones considered the act as "a slight circumstance," though he was always proud of it, as he had "chosen to do it with his own hands."

The *Alfred* carried two flags when she sailed southward. Which one did Jones hoist? It is generally stated that it was the Rattlesnake and Pine-tree flag. There was no such flag. There was a Pine-tree flag. There was another, the Rattlesnake flag. This latter was the personal ensign of Hopkins, indicating the ship from which he commanded the expedition. Jones speaks of "the American flag" as the one he hoisted. In January, 1776, that was the Union flag which Washington had raised at Cambridge, January 1, 1776—the thirteen stripes with the English cross where now are the stars. This, undoubtedly, was "the American flag" hoisted by Jones. No other could in 1783 be referred to as "the American flag."

Biographers place the time at periods from November 25, 1775, to January 14, 1776, but the latter seems the most probable, as on that day Hopkins, the Commander-in-chief, arrived at Philadelphia and took command of the fleet. So it is reasonable to conclude that on his coming on board the *Alfred* the new flag, the flag of Washington, was raised. That was the flag the *Alfred* carried when she sailed on the expedition southward.

Lieutenant Jones thus began his naval services. There is no official record of any duties performed prior to those on the *Alfred* —no Committee on Naval Affairs being appointed as early as June

—no consultation with such a committee which, it is said, had sent to Jones, the Virginia planter, to come to Philadelphia and select vessels for naval operations. These and many other alleged services are without foundation.

After the expedition had returned and the fleet had entered the harbor of New London, Conn., Jones was, on May 10, 1776, appointed by Hopkins to the command of the *Providence*. Later transferred to the *Alfred*, on which he did good service on the northeastern coast, he was successively assigned to eight other vessels.

"Will posterity," he wrote in 1783, "believe that ten commands were taken from me and that the best vessel my country ever gave me was the *Ranger?*" He underscores "*my country*," as if to show that with all the many commands given and taken from him, but one was a vessel of such build and force as to enable him to do service in accord with his spirit of adventure.

In the *Ranger* he had, in the English Channel and tributary waters, captured the *Drake* and many other prizes and created consternation in mercantile and marine circles of England. Yet the *Ranger*, on his entry to Brest, was taken from him, while he was soothed at its loss by being told that the *Indien*, building at the Texel, Holland, would be assigned him; but, alas! he never got the command owing to complications regarding her building having arisen between England and Holland.

All this while Jones was in France, moving from Brest and L'Orient to Paris and Passy, interviewing Franklin and seeking court influences reaching to the King, Louis XVI, striving to have a ship given him and so give his active spirit an outlet.

Franklin was unable to secure him an American vessel. But for the King's action of taking the French ship *Duc de Duras*, making needed repairs, and changing her name to the *Bonne Homme Richard* in compliment to Franklin's character of *Poor Richard*, it is probable that Jones would to-day be little known.

Jones sailed as the nominal Commander-in-chief or "Commodore" of a fleet of five armed ships of which but one, the *Alliance*, was of American build, and that was commanded by Pierre Landais, a Frenchman, erratic, if not of infirm mind.

The expedition sent out by the French King to keep up "a plan of annoyance" which had been arranged to harass English commerce, was a French enterprise, but one wholly in accord with the energies

and spirit of Jones, who chafed at the eight months' idleness to which he had been subjected. He seems to have started on this expedition with an acute and sensitive spirit, determined to encounter, and not evade, a force double his own, as he expressed, in order, as it were, to convince his country, and especially its naval authorities, who had treated him so shabbily.

View as we may with candor and yet with that partiality which ever causes us to honor as meritorious those who have well served

From an old lithograph.

BARRY RECEIVING HIS COMMISSION FROM WASHINGTON.

our country, especially those heroes who aided in placing ours among the nations of the earth, many who have studied his career do not escape the conviction that Jones was of that class to whom the term "adventurer" in the common mind best conveys the idea which study embodies. That seems to a great degree to be decided to be correct by his letter to Lady Selkirk, in which he said: "I am not in

arms as an American. I profess myself a citizen of the world, totally unfettered by the little mean distinctions of climate or country which diminish the benevolence of the heart and set bounds to philanthropy."

Jones fought valiantly and well for America and was a powerful factor in upholding and winning the cause of the colonies. Yet with equal facility of action and, doubtless, with equal fervor, he entered the service of Russia and served her with as strong a devotion.

But our country at the time—1788—had no navy, no use for Jones or other naval commanders. Jones, by taking service in the Russian navy as Rear Admiral, believed he was again perfecting himself in knowledge which might sometime be useful to our, if not his, country. He was serving, not forsaking, the country. He ever held the "glorious title of a citizen of the United States," though but a decade before he had proclaimed he strove for it not as an American but "as a citizen of the world."

Now our country hails him as Founder or Father of the American navy. This is, again, going to the opposite extreme. History, moving our country to do exact and equal justice, will, and perhaps before long, place Jones in his true historical position where fame will ever rightly guard his name untainted by "romantic literary productions," but in proper "proportion to the real magnitude of his achievements," which ended with his death in Paris in 1792. The Scotchman, the "foreigner," as John Adams classed him, was faithful to America.

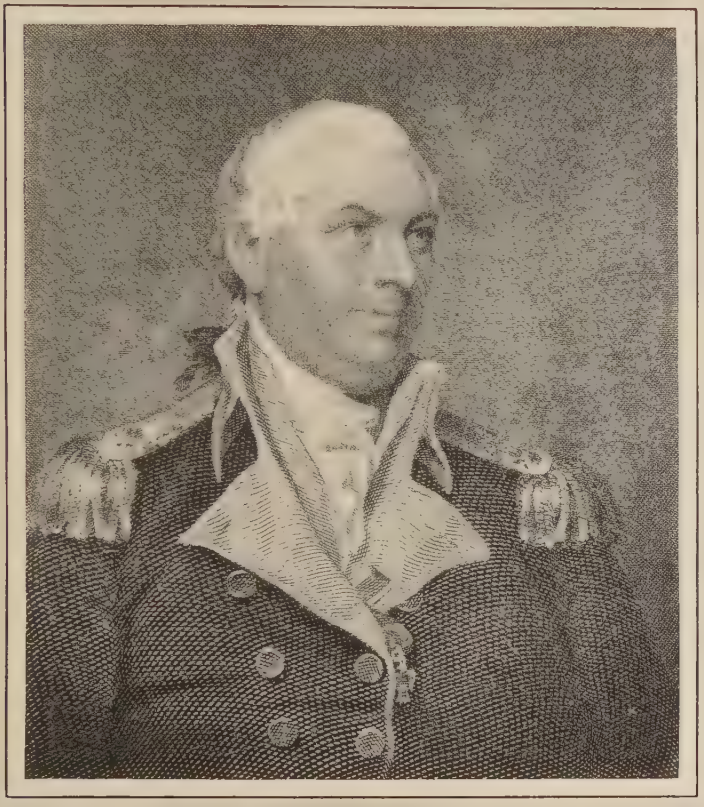
Of all the naval commanders of the navy of the colonies it can truthfully be claimed that John Barry was the most conspicuous for length of service and continuous employment in the several duties assigned him. Indeed, a critical examination of the records will prove he was the most trusted as well as a most faithful officer. Important commands were assigned him. Missions fraught with serious consequences were given him to fulfil, and these, successfully performed, were more important than battles won or prizes captured. Indeed, he was commanded, at times, not to make captures, lest so doing would delay or endanger the missions upon which he was sent. He was always on duty. He was the first to begin under Continental authority and the last to cease operations—fighting the last battle of the Revolution and commanding the whole Navy of the new United

States and its last, as it was its best, vessel of the United Colonies' navy. When the new navy of the United States was founded in the administration of Washington, in 1794, of all the living commanders of the Revolutionary navy, the first President of our country chose John Barry to be Number One in rank as the head or ranking officer of the new Navy and its first Commodore in command of its first fleet in naval operations.

Like other officers of the navy of the colonies he has been overshadowed by John Paul Jones, whose one most brilliant and certainly most startling action has caused the practical obliteration of all other names from the public mind.

Yet it is becoming clear, by the consideration of the services of John Paul Jones, that if the title FATHER or FOUNDER OF THE AMERICAN NAVY may rightly be bestowed upon anyone, it is justly due to John Barry, as was declared by Editor Dennie of the *Portfolio* in 1813. This is true whether we consider his services in the navy of the United Colonies or in the navy of the United States. These, separately or combined successively, must be regarded as the THE AMERICAN NAVY. In each and in both John Barry stands conspicuous for fidelity. He alone in the number of later distinguished officers of the navy who were trained under him must truly be declared FATHER, for none other had such a number of young officers who later merited the renown won by services for our country.

John Barry was a native of the County Wexford, Ireland, where he was born in 1745. Coming to Philadelphia in early manhood, he, from 1766, was actively engaged in the merchant marine service, mainly to and from the West Indies, until in 1774, in the *Black Prince*, the finest and largest of the American commercial fleet, he made a voyage to Bristol and London. Affairs in the colonies were becoming more and more strained with England. A Congress of the colonies met at Philadelphia. The non importation resolve debarred for a time the return of Barry's ship until, observing the trend of events after the battles of Lexington and of Bunker Hill, he determined, in September, 1775, to return to Philadelphia. He arrived home on October 13, 1775, the very day Congress had resolved to fit out two armed cruisers of fourteen and of ten guns—of nine-pounders. This was done on recommendation of a committee appointed October 3d. Two vessels were obtained. They were named the *Lexington* and the *Reprisal*. The former, the heavier armed,



John Barry

THE STUART PORTRAIT OF BARRY

was given to Captain John Barry, the latter to Captain Wickes. Barry's vessel was named after the first battleground of the Revolution and was the first fitted out—and Barry the first appointed officer. Selected prior to that date he was appointed CAPTAIN on December 7, 1775.

Barry not only prepared the *Lexington* for service, securing for her the only nine-pounders in the city, owned by his former employers, Willing & Morris, but he did, says Cooper's "History of the Navy," "shore duty" during the winter of 1775–76. These duties kept him engaged until, at the end of March, 1776, he sailed down the Delaware and on April 1st put to sea. On the 7th, off the Capes of Virginia, he captured the *Edward*, tender to His Majesty's ship of war the *Roebuck*, which cruised off the Delaware Bay. Barry had succeeded in getting to sea, and with his prize succeeded in entering the bay and returning to Philadelphia on April 11th, bringing to Congress his first prize captured under Continental authority and rejoicing the hearts of the patriots so much that John Adams gleefully wrote: "We begin to make a show in the navy way."

Later assigned to the command of the *Effingham* by the reorganization system of October 10, 1776, Barry became Senior Commander at the Port of Philadelphia. When, in December, the British advanced on Philadelphia, Barry organized a company for land service and engaged in the Trenton campaign, in which he served as an aide to Washington, who placed him in charge of a body of Hessian prisoners sent to Philadelphia.

When, in 1777-78, the British held possession of Philadelphia, Barry, from the upper Delaware, below Bordentown, set in operation the plan of firing the British shipping by projectiles concealed in floating enclosures—the famous "Battle of the Kegs," which caused so much consternation among the naval officers of the enemy. At this time all the American vessels in the upper Delaware were ordered by the Marine Committee of Congress and by General Washington to be sunk. Barry protested against this, as he had been appointed to command the *Effingham*, not to sink her. In his vehement objections against the sinking he offended Mr. Hopkinson, of the Naval Committee, who reported Barry to Congress as guilty of disrespect. Of this he escaped censure by a tie vote. Barry soon gave effective evidence of his worth by his services on the lower Delaware while yet the British remained in Philadelphia. He captured many

prizes carrying supplies to the British. He sent much of this captured stores to Washington, then at Valley Forge in destitution of supplies. Washington wrote congratulations on his services, expressing the hope that "a suitable compensation would ever attend your [his] bravery." His services, alone, on the Delaware entitle him to commemorative praise. To have lightened the heart of Washington at that dire period so as to gain his hearty commendation alike sets forth his bravery and his prudence in relieving the wants of the suffering army.

Assigned to the *Raleigh*, he prepared her for sea, but being pursued by two British cruisers of much superior force, he was obliged to beach his ship after a most heroic defense, to save her from capture by setting her on fire. But in this he was not successful, owing to the treachery of the one entrusted with the firing. He was then made Commander of the naval forces intended to coöperate with the army against East Florida. This was abandoned because the British sent reenforcements from New York to Savannah and Charleston.

No other vessel being available for Continental commission, Barry took service in the *Delaware* under private commission of Pennsylvania, and in that cruiser did valiant service in capturing prizes. He so continued until sent to superintend the building of the *America* at Portsmouth, N. H., on which service he continued until the arrival at Boston of the *Alliance*, commanded by the erratic Frenchman, Pierre Landais, who was at once relieved of the command. It was given to Captain John Barry, who was succeeded at Portsmouth by John Paul Jones.

Barry in the *Alliance* rendered the most efficient service. He took Col. John Laurens to France to procure money to move the French army to Yorktown. He took Lafayette to France after the Battle of Yorktown to secure additional, especially naval, aid. While returning he captured a number of prizes. His most notable engagements during this cruise were with the *Mars* and the *Minerva* and with the *Atalanta* and the *Trepassy*, capturing two armed ships in each battle. Barry was wounded.

A later and a most memorable event, though not of common knowledge, is that Barry fought the last battle of the Revolution when, on March 10, 1783, he encountered the *Sybille*, an English warship, while convoying the *Duc de Lauzan*, both bringing specie on Continental account from Havana.

He remained in command of the *Alliance* and with the *Deane*, the only ship of the United Colonies, and thus had under him the whole navy of the United States at the close of the war, as Washington had command of the army. He so continued until both ships were, by order of Congress, sold. The famous *Alliance*, the pride of the navy, which had on her appearance at French ports excited

ADMIRALTY SEAL.

§ *Journals of Congress*, v., 277. The three commissioners were each allowed a yearly salary of fourteen thousand dollars, Continental money, equivalent, at that time, to about seven hundred dollars hard money. The nominal amount of this salary was to be varied according to the state of the paper currency. Their secretary was John Brown, whose name appears at

John Brown

tached to all commissions issued during the active existence of the board. On the fourth of May, 1780, the board reported a device for an admiralty seal (see next page) as follows: thirteen bars, mutually supporting each other, alternate red and white, in a blue field, and surmounting an anchor proper. The crest, a ship under sail. The motto, *Sustentans et sustentatum*—"Sustaining and Sustained." The legend, *U. S. A. Sigil. Naval.* Twenty months earlier than this a committee was appointed to "prepare a seal for the Treasury and Navy." I have never seen an impression of the former, if it was ever made. The sketch of the admiralty seal given on the next page I made from an impression attached to a commission issued in 1781, and now in possession of Peter Force, Esq., of Washington City.

SEAL ATTACHED TO BARRY'S COMMISSION

the admiration of all seafaring men and shipbuilding experts, became a merchant vessel. Commodore John Barry had commanded the first Continental cruiser—the *Lexington*—and had in her made his first capture under Continental authority. He closed his Revolutionary career in command of the finest vessel of the United Colonies

—after fighting the last battle of the Revolution and commanding the whole navy, small as it was.

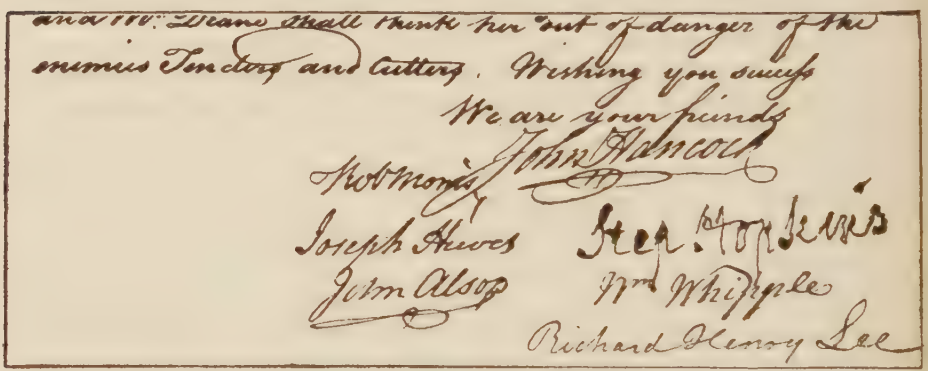
When the depredations of the Algerians became unbearable and the Government decided it were better to build ships to fight these preyers upon our commerce than to pay millions in money as tribute to secure immunity, John Barry was again, in 1794, the first called into service by the supreme authority. Washington appointed him Captain and as Number One on the ranking list. He was appointed to superintend the building of the first frigate, the *United States*, constructed by Joshua Humphreys, the first Naval Constructor. Under Barry's direction she was built and on May 10, 1797, launched at Philadelphia, amid the loud and proud acclaim of the entire city, which crowded to the wharves to see the first war cruiser enter the placid waters of the Delaware.

When ready for service the *United States* was commissioned to stop, not the Algerines, but the French from spoliations on our commerce. In that vessel he made successful cruises and as Commodore commanded the fleet sent to the West Indies to protect our merchants. Details of his operations in this war with France need not be entered upon as we have not done so with his career during the Revolutionary War. These recitals would take too much space, though essential to all who wish to become fully informed of the zeal and fidelity of this Irish-born hero to liberty. Animated by that racial love for liberty, and moreover, by its intense quickening when stirred to activity against the oppressor of his native land, Americans need not be told that John Barry must have loved and labored in the cause of American independence with a heartfelt intensity that none could surpass.

He served steadily, continuously, from the first to the very last. The Continental authorities seem never to have doubted him, never distrusted him, did not make frequent changes in commands given him nor keep him in idleness for long periods. Barry was always doing. Each assignment had its known cause and each was a betterment until the very best vessel the colonies ever had was given him, and it remained ever in his command while the Continentals owned it. It had really but two commanders, Landais and Barry, though Jones was in charge of her while Landais was, in response to summons, at Paris accounting for his erratic conduct in firing at the *Bonne Homme Richard* instead of into the *Serapis* during that famous engagement off Flambough Head, on September 23, 1779.

Barry died September 13, 1803. He is buried in St. Mary's Cemetery, Philadelphia.

Commodore John Barry is THE FATHER OF THE NAVY by reason of his early employment—the very first vessel—his continuous and meritorious service—his steady employment by Congress—his several promotions—his commissions on special and most important voyages—his selection as commander of the expedition to East Florida, though it was later abandoned by Congress—his command of the best vessel of the new Republic, and when our present navy was founded, his selection as its chief by President Washington, who well knew his Revolutionary services and so selected him out of all the survivors to be the head of the new navy, commissioned him to build its first armed battleship and placed all others under his command, as did his successor, President Adams, when operations against the



SIGNATURES OF THE NAVAL COMMITTEE TO BARRY'S ORDERS

French were ordered. So the very first record book of our Navy Department has for its initial entry that a commission had been delivered to Commodore John Barry to make seizures of French ravagers upon our commerce.

Obscured as have been all the officers of the Revolutionary navy by the brilliancy of the one exploit of John Paul Jones, made famous because all the world witnessed it, John Barry has not received that recognition which his merits and his services should have secured, and had he had biographers even in lesser numbers than Jones, his fame would have been more prominent than it has been.

But America is ever generous to those who serve her. Our President has recognized the worth of both and recommended public monuments to commemorate their valor.

GENERAL WASHINGTON PROHIBITS THE "RIDICULOUS AND CHILDISH CUSTOM OF BURNING THE EFFIGY OF THE POPE"—1775.

Prior to the Revolution POPE DAY, November 5th, was annually very generally celebrated throughout New England. It was a day known in England as GUY FAWKES DAY, intended to commemorate "The Gunpowder Plot," 1588, or the Papists' Conspiracy, when it was alleged "some Roman Catholics" had made preparations to blow up the Parliament House when the King, James I, with the Lords, would be present, but the plot, it was alleged, was discovered by means of a letter to a Catholic Lord, warning him not to be present. The vaults were searched and the gunpowder discovered, of course, and Guy Fawkes, the chief conspirator, seized and executed.

This "fiendish plot" and "providential delivery" was not so generally celebrated in the other Colonies as in New England, though there are records showing "the timely discovery of the plot" was not passed by in the southward colonies.

When John Adams, on the evening of July 2, 1776 (not 4th), wrote his wife that the Resolution for Independence had that day been passed, he prophesied that the day, 2d, would be celebrated by bonfires, fireworks and other demonstrations of delight; he was but transferring the carryings on of November 5th each year at Boston to the day he believed would be commemorated as the Day of American Independence. But the Day of the Declaration, July 4th, and not the Day of the Resolution, became the Day of Independence.

However, the boys' antics on July 4th are but the counterpart of the doings of the 'prentice boys of Boston and elsewhere, before Independence came.

"Boston being a city of great cultivation and refinement took the lead in celebrating POPE DAY. An effigy of the Pope was made and generally one of the devil; these were placed on a platform and carried by the crowd, who kept firing crackers, home-made at first, but when New England enterprise opened with China the Chinese firecrackers were imported for use on Pope Day."—[*U. S. C. H. Mag.*, Vol. II, p. 3]. Our illustration is a broadside in the Library of Congress.

South End Forever.

North End Forever.

Extraordinary VERSES on *POPE-NIGHT*.

Or, A Commemoration of the *Fifth of November*, giving a Hiſtory of the Attempt, made by the *Papiſhes*, to blow up KING and PARLIAMENT, A. D. 1688. Together with ſome Account of the *POPE* himſelf, and his Wife *JOAN*: with ſeveral other Things worthy of Notice, too tedious to mention.

1. HUZZA! brave Boys, behold the *Pope*,
Pretender and *Old-Nick*;
How they together lay their Heads,
To plot a poiſon Trick?

2. To blow up KING and PARLIAMENT
To Flitters, rent and torn:
—*Oh! blund'ring Pope, ſince the Plot,*
Was this Pretender *born*—

3. Yet, ſure upon this famous Stage,
He's got together *now*;
And had he *then*, he'd been a Rogue
As bad as t'other *two*.

4. Come on, brave Youths, drag on your *Pope*
Let's ſee his frightful Phiz:
Let's view his Features rough and fierce,
That Map of Uglineſs!

5. Diſtorted Joints, ſo huge and broad!
So horribly dreſt up!
'Twould puzzle NEWTON's Self to tell,
The *D——l* from the *Pope*.

6. See! how He Shakes his tot'ring Head
And knocks his palſy Knees;
A Proof *He* is the *Scarlet Whore*,
And got the foul Diſeaſe.

7. Moſt terrible for to behold,
He Stinks much worſe then Rum:
Here, you behold the *Pope*, and here
Old Harry in his *Rome*.

8. D'ye aſk why *Satan* Stands *behind*?
Before he durſt not go,
Becauſe his Pride won't let him Stoop,
To kiſs the *Pope's* great Toe.

9. *Old Boys*, and young, be Sure obſerve
The *Fifth* Day of *November*;
What tho' it is a Day apaſt?
You ſtill can it remember.

10. The little *Popes*, they go out Firſt,
With little teney Boys:
In Frolicks they are full of Gale
And laughing make a Noiſe.

11. The Girls run out to ſee the Sight,
The Boys eke ev'ry one;
Along they are a dragging them,
With *Grenadier's* Caps on.

12. The great Ones next go out, and meet
With many a Smart Rebuf:
They're hali'd along from Street to Street
And call hard Names enough.

13. "A *Pagan*, *Jew*, *Mahometan*,
Turk, *Sirumpet*, *Wizzard*, *Witch*;"
In ſhort the Number of his Name's,
Six Hundred, Sixty-ſix.

14. "*How dreadful do his Features ſhow?*
"*How fearful is his Grin?*
"*Made up of ev'ry Thing that's bad;*
He is the Man of Sin.

15. If that his *deeden* Self could ſee
Himſelf ſo turn'd to Fun:
In Rage He'd tear out His *Pope's* Eyes,
And ſcratch his Rev'rend Bum.

16. He'd kick his tripple Crown about,
And weary of his Life,
He'd *curſe* the Rabble, and away
He'd run to tell his *Wife*.

17. Some Wits begin to cavil here
And laughing ſeem to query,
"*How* Pope *ſhould have a* Wife, *and yet*
"*The* Clergy *never marry?*"

18. Laugh if you pleaſe, yet ſtill I'm ſure
If falſe I'm not alone;
Pray *Critic*, did you never hear
Then read about *Pope-Joan?*

19. "*Help* Joan! *ſee how I'm drag'd and beaten'd,*
"*Purſu'd, ſurrounded, — Wife!*
"*And when I'm hang'd to* Death, I *ſhall*
"*Be barbacu'd* alive."

20. *Joan* cry's, "*Why in this Paſſion, Sir?*
"*And why ſo raving mad?*
"*You ſurely muſt* miſtake *the Caſe,*
"*It cannot be ſo bad.*"

21. "You Fool! I ſaw it with my *Eyes*,
"I cannot be deceiv'd."
"*Yes, but You told me t'other Day,*
"Sight *muſt not be believ'd.*"

22. Aſham'd, Enrag'd, and mad, and vex'd,
He mutters ten Times more,
"*I'll make a* Bull, *and my* He-Cow
"*Shall bellow, grunt and roar.*"

23. Oh! *Pope*, we pity thy ſad Caſe,
So dilmal and forlorn!
We know that thou a *Cuckold* art,
For thou haſt many an *Horn*.

24. And eke ſev'n *Heads* he has alſo.
Tho' but *one* on him ſticks:
Ten Horns he in his *Pocket* puts,
And *Heads* no leſs than ſix.

25. His *Pockets* full of *Heads* and *Horns*,
In's *Hand* he holds his *Keys*;
So down He bends beneath their Weight,
With Age, Shame and Diſeaſe.

26. His End ſo near, each *Cardinal*
Quite *old* himſelf would feign:
He tries to *ſtoop* and *cough* that he
Might his Succeſſor reign.

27. And now, their Frolick to compleat,
They to the *Mill-Dam* go;
Burn Him to Nothing firſt, and then
Plunge Him the Waves into.

28. But to conclude, from what we've heard,
With Pleaſure ſerve the King:
Be not *Pretenders*, *Papiſhes*,
Nor *Pope*, nor *t'other Thing*.

Sold by the Printers Boys in *Boſton*.

The Revolutionary War brought not only Civil Liberty, but Religious Liberty as well. So Washington, who won both for the Nation, was the destroyer of Pope's Day by his General Order of November 5, 1775, prohibiting his soldiers from celebrating it and rebuking them as "devoid of common sense," for undertaking to do so at that time. His order reads:

"November 5, 1775.—As the Commander-in-Chief has been apprised of a design formed for the observance of that ridiculous and childish custom of burning the effigy of the Pope, he cannot help expressing his suprise that there should be officers and soldiers in this army so void of common sense as not to see the impropriety of such a step at this juncture; at a time when we are soliciting, and have really obtained the friendship and alliance of the people of Canada, whom we ought to consider as brethren embarked on the same cause—the defence of the Liberties of America. At this juncture and under such circumstances to be insulting their religion is so monstrous as not to be suffered or excused; indeed, instead of offering the most remote insult, it is our duty to address public thanks to these our brethren, as to them we are indebted for every late happy success on the common enemy in Canada."

So not afterwards did the boys and senseless men demonstrate by public manifestation that they continued to

"Remember, remember,
The fifth of November."

In course of time, one quarter of Boston thought itself badly treated in the arrangements for the procession. Then North End and South End each had a Pope and the processions generally met on Union street, where a fight took place for the possession of all the figures, the North Enders burning them on Copp's Hill if they won the day; while their antagonists, when successful, burned the Pope on the Common.—[*U. S. C. H. Mag.*, Vol. II, p. 3].

In 1745:—Tuesday last being the Anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, two Popes were made and carried through the streets in the evening, one from the North, the other from the South end of the town, attended by a vast number of negroes and white servants, armed with clubs, staves and cutlasses, who were very abusive to the inhabitant, insulting the persons and breaking the windows, etc., of such as did not give them money to their satisfaction, and even

many of those who had given them liberally; and the two Popes meeting in Cornhill, their followers were so infatuated as to fall upon each other with the utmost rage and fury. Several were sorely wounded and bruised, some left for dead and rendered unfit of any business for a long time, to the great loss and damage of their respective masters.—[*U. S. C. H. Mag.*, Vol. II, p. 4].

CHARLESTON, S. C.—"We had a great diversion the 5th instant. The Pope and devil, which were erected on a moving machine, and after having been paraded about the town all day, they were in the evening burnt on the Common, with a large bonfire, attended by a numerous crowd of people.—*New York Journal*, Dec. 15, 1774, quoted in *U. S. C. H. Mag.*, Vol. II, p. 6].

Other instances, cited by Rev. T. J. Shahan, D. D., now of the Catholic University, may be read in the *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, April, 1888].

After Washington's exorcism of "The Pope and devil," the progress of the war debarred a continuance of so ridiculous, childish and senseless a custom. The Canadians were so friendly, in 1776, that continuance would have been damaging to the endeavor that year to secure an alliance or their neutrality. When the alliance with France was secured, a renewal of the folly would have been resented. So ceased "The Pope and the devil" effigy burning and head breaking encounters of the unruly upholders of the Act of Parliament which declared "The Gunpowder Plot" to have been caused by "many malignant and devilish Papists, Jesuits and Seminary priests, much enjoying the true and free possession of the Gospel by the Nation, under the greatest, most learned and most religious monarch who had ever occupied the throne."

In "Reminiscences of Gen. Wm. H. Sumner" in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Vol. 8, April, 1854, p. 191, it is related concerning John Hancock, when Governor of Massachusetts, "respecting his great zeal, before the Revolutionary War, to do away with the animosity which subsisted in Boston between the North and Southerners, who, on Pope day, used to have a regular battle, the ill-blood arising from which continued through the year, and showed itself in almost every private as well as public transaction. The Governor, wishing to heal this difference, and thinking it essential to a successful resistance to British aggression, exerted himself in every possible way to effect it, without any avail. He then gave a supper at

the Green Dragon Tavern, which cost him $1000, at which he invited all the leading men of both the Pope parties to be present. He addressed them at the table in an eloquent speech and invoked them, for their country's sake, to lay aside their animosity, and fully impressed upon them the necessity of their united efforts to the success of the cause in which they were engaged. There is nothing more productive of domestic union than a sense of external danger. With the existence of this the whole audience now became fully impressed and shook hands before they parted, and pledged their united exertions to break the chain with which they were manacled. The happiest results attended this meeting, and since that time the North and South Popes have not showed their heads in the streets, and a custom and a celebration, in which all the town participated and which had long been established, was broken, as it were, by a charm, making the stories related of it by our fathers, who themselves were engaged in it, *hardly credible by their children.*

HOW CANADA WAS "LOST."

ALMIGHTY AND EVERLASTING GOD, IT WAS THY WISDOM THAT LAID THE FIRM FOUNDATION OF THIS MIGHTY REPUBLIC.—[REV. JOHN CONDIN, S. J. BENEDICTION JULY 4, 1906, AT INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA.]

"England, already despoiled of the richest portion of her heritage in America, owed to a French Bishop [Briand] the conservation of the country of Canada—one of the most precious jewels in the imperial crown.—[Archbishop Bégin, of Quebec, to Archbishop Bruchési, of Montreal, January 15, 1900, published in *La Vérité*, of Quebec, January 27, 1900.]

Charges of disloyalty against the Catholics of Canada having appeared in the *Herald* of Montreal, in an article on the "*Semaine Religieuse de Quebec*," the Archbishop of Montreal, in a letter to the *Herald*, dated January 12, 1900, in replying, said:

"Read the episcopal documents that have appeared since Canada became a colony of England; read the instructions that have been given since then to the people by their clergy, and discover, if you can, one word to substantiate the accusation of our disloyalty. We have always been loyal, and we intend to be ever so. We love France, and what English-speaking person would dare upbraid us for so doing? Still we consider England as a generous, a powerful nation, and under her sheltering flag Providence has placed our holy religion and liberty."

Archbishop Bégin of Quebec, in a letter to Archbishop Bruchési of Montreal, said:

"It is truly deplorable that the history of our country should be so little known. Does not a century and a half of open and unchangeable loyalty to the British crown suffice to convince our countrymen of English extraction of our attachment to the flag which shelters us?

"O, the loyalty of the Canadian French Bishops and Priests! It is written in letters of gold, in fiery characters on the scrolls of history, and all the sovereigns, all their representatives who have been successively here since the cession of Canada to England—even those among the latter, against whom it was necessary to contest legally in the courts in defense of most lawful rights—all these have given the most solemn and most cordial testimony.

"Need I recall here Mgr. Briand, who, occupying the See of Quebec at the turning point in the history of New France, living alternately under the banner of the Fleur-de-lis and again under the British standard, loyal at first to the former until, when on the Plains of Abraham, all, save honor, was lost, and then generously transferring to the latter the homage of entire loyalty, used all his sacred influence during the terrible days of 1775 to keep Canada faithful to her new masters. And, nevertheless, God knows how great the temptation must be to the children of France in America to unite their fate to that of the children of Albion (England), less scrupulous, less loyal and more easily pardoned for a revolt, real and efficacious, than we are today for a fanciful disloyalty. If the Catholic emissaries of the United States, if the impassioned appeal of the French officers who served the cause of American Independene could not triumph over the last revolts of the Canadian people, it is because the voice of the head of the Church at Quebec, invoking the sacred principles of respect due to the ruling authority, and stigmatizing with the name of "rebels" those who allowed themselves to be allured, opposed to the Revolution an insuperable barrier. And England, already despoiled of the richest portion of her heritage in America, owed to a Fench Bishop the conservation of the country of Canada—one of the most precious jewels in the imperial crown."

How widely asunder are these statements and those current among Catholics of the United States, whose "histories" tell that it was the "bigotry" of John Jay, of the Continental Congress, whose address to the people of Great Britain, written by him, denounced the Catholic as a "religion fraught with impiety, rebellion and murder in every part of the world"—that this address, read to the Canadians, turned them from the American cause, and so "Canada was lost."

Yet the same "histories" delight to tell us that in the Colonies revolted "every Catholic was a Whig"—an upholder of independence —that there were no Catholic traitors; that "unanimously and irresistibly" our brethren were battlers for American liberty—and yet Congress, with George Washington a member, had denounced their religion.

Strange that they did not love the faith as well as their Canadian brethren.

The American Revolution was, indeed, a wonderful event. Long

and constant research under the surface among the papers and documents of the time, and an almost daily study of its events, has convinced me that God rules the affairs of nations as of men; that He guided the fathers of the Republic amid all their blunders, errors, mistakes, and even "bigotry;" that He let them show the height of their human wisdom, and how inadequate it was to direct the affairs in their charge; that His adorable will was manifested in a manner contrary to the judgment of men; that even enmity to His Church was made the foundation for its greatest prosperity; that the judgment of Catholics, no less than that of those who despised their faith, alike misjudged, and that God guided all. It was indeed His wisdom that laid the firm foundation of this mighty Republic.

It is a truth the Fathers of the last Baltimore Council spoke when they declared the Founders of our Republic were "instruments of the Almighty."

"God sometimes uses men as instruments in works they do not fully understand the import of. In shaping the course of events out of which this Republic grew, He used as instruments men who were unconscious of or adverted not to His designs, and yet they did their parts to the consummation of the result as surely as Moses did his in obedience to the Voice from the burning bush. Jefferson and the other Fathers of the Republic were near that fire and received more reflected light from it than they wot of. They were providential men, who, aside from their own personal motives, did their part in the unfolding of a Divine plan, as Constantine did in his time and Charlemagne did in his."—[Rev. L. A. Lambert, in *Freeman's Journal* (N. Y.), July 20, 1901.]

So we Catholics love to believe that our brethren in the "days that tried men's souls" were all upolders of the cause Washington led.

Why should that be? How could that be? On what public measure—even those directly concerning the Church—have we Catholics been a unit—a solid body? When, too, have we been allies *en masse* of those who publicly branded our Religion as an impious, rebellious and murderous one?

Think you that could be possible of the Catholics of Pennsylvania and Maryland—the only Colonies having Catholics countable? So how could it be reasonable to think that Canada would join in the revolt? The historical truth is that, save that Canada had

been "conquered" a few years before from France, Canada had no real cause for revolt. That conquest was sufficient for the people. They would have been moved to organized action, as they very generally welcomed the American armies under Montgomery and Arnold, but that the Americans hadn't sense enough to keep their detestation of the Catholic religion in control, and so on that account soon turned the Canadians from their helpfulness to the armies.

You remember that Washington, while besieging Boston, had, in November, 1775, to rebuke his soldiers for showing the same bigotry on "Guy Fawkes Day," and plainly telling them that, while the American army was in Canada and being well received, was no time to be insulting the religion of the people of that country.

But the main cause, the great reason why Canada did not join in the Revolution was, as the Archbishop of Quebec now declares, Bishop Briand was loyal to England. He had to be. Duty required it. England wouldn't allow a bishop to be appointed who was not of the right spirit toward her. She would soon have throttled Bishop Briand if he had shown countenance to the Americans or did not punish his priests and people who aided or favored them.

The people who favored "the *Bostonnais*," as he called them, were excommunicated. Those who repented had to do public penance, and some, there is testimony, with ropes around their necks, at the altar.

So the people were kept in order and loyal; though, of course, some revolted against the Church as well as against England. Bishop Briand, of course, you may be sure, kept the priests in obedience to him. The least sign of favor toward the Americans brought them under discipline—most noted are the cases of Fathers Floquet, Lotbiniere and De la Valiniere, as these pages have shown.

Bishop Bégin now declares that England owed to a French bishop (Briand) the preservation of Canada, and that's a truth not palatable today. And yet it ought to be. It proves that the opposition of Bishop Briand was not God-directed How could it be, when British ministry controlled him? We now believe "His wisdom laid the firm foundation of this mighty Republic." The "bigotry" of the Americans, aroused to action by the Quebec Act of 1774, but proved the foundation of the creation of a Nation in which, above

all others, the Church of Christ should have the largest liberty and most complete freedom yet given her to do her beneficent work.

Had the opposition of Bishop Briand and the power of England been strong enough to suppress "the unnatural and unholy rebellion," would the Church today, even in Canada, enjoy the freedom she now has?

Here and there we have yet bits of bigotry to contend with, but what are these to the huge boulders of it which would have blocked the path of the Church in Canada and in this Country as well?

Here, then, all human judgment went astray. The Catholics in Canada, or in the Provinces, who opposed the cause of the Colonies were really opposing the design of the Almighty for the betterment of His Church as well as of His people. The bigots of Congress, the warriors who rushed to Canada to prevent, as they believed, England organizing the Catholic Canadians as a force to come down upon the Colonies to "impose Popery" on them, were also astray. Their hostility to the Church was the foundation of a sanctuary and home for the Church they hated. In it she enjoys a freedom and prosperity nowhere else equalled.

Though there was justifiable resistance to unjust laws about to be imposed upon the Colonies, these did not move the great body of the people. But when the Quebec Act was passed, and they were told by their preachers that it "established Popery" in Canada, and that it was the design of the ministry to use the Canadians "as fit instruments" (to use the words of the Declaration of Independence), then, the people rushed to their guns and then rushed to Canada. When they couldn't capture it, they adopted a softer tone, and sent Charles Carroll of Carrollton and two others to Canada to negotiate even for neutrality. Congress actually voted to ask a "Popish" priest, Rev. John Carroll, to go up there with the commissioners. Scant courtesy the clergy of Canada gave their Jesuit brother on such a mission. Those who simply were "complaisant," as Father Floquet, had to make explanations to Bishop Briand of their conduct.

Canada was "lost" because she had no just cause to revolt.

Canada was "lost" because Bishop Briand kept the Priests and people loyal to the Civil authority.

Canada was "lost" because the Americans did not know how to behave themselves and were not strong enough in force to hold the country.

Combine these and you have "why Canada was lost." Canadians—the Catholics especially—would today oppose annexation to the United States.

A few citations will show how the Americans contributed to destroy Canadian confidence:

"The Canadians taking up arms so early against us is of the most important consequence. We have ourselves brought about by mismanagement what Governor Carleton himself could never effect."—[Col. Hazen to Gen. Schuyler, *Vol. III, p.* 364: *Writings of Washington.*]

General Washington wrote Gen. Sullivan from New York on June 16, 1776:

"I am convinced that many of our misfortunes are to be attributed to a want of discipline and a proper regard to the conduct of our soldiery. Hence it was, and from our feeble efforts to protect the Canadians, that they had almost joined and taken part against us."—[Ibid., III, p. 423.]

Col. Hazen, on April 20, 1776, from Montreal, wrote that all "the ill luck in recruiting, and the plottings and preparations making against us throughout the whole district, was because the Priests are at the bottom of it."—[*Haldimand Papers*, B. 27, p. 398.]

General Philip Schuyler, writing to General George Clinton, said:

"Our affairs in Canada are far from being in such a situation as I could wish; the scandalous licentiousness of our Troops, the little care that has been taken to conciliate the affections of the Canadians, the jealously that weighs between the Troops from different Colonies, the cool treatment which Arnold has experienced from Gen. Wooster, who, good man, is led by a petulant youth, go much against us. I hope, however, that the presence of the Commissioners and General Thomas' prudence will change the face of things. The latter is a sensible, discerning man and does not appear to have any prejudices about him.

Col. Moses Hazen wrote Gen. Schuyler from Montreal, April 1, 1776:

"You are not unacquainted with the friendly disposition of the Canadians when General Montgomery first penetrated into the country; the ready assistance which they gave on all occasions, by men, carriages or provisions, was most remarkable. Even when

he was before Quebec many parishes offered their services in the reduction of that fortress, which were at that time thought unnecessary. But his most unfortunate fate, added to other incidents, has caused such a change in their dispositions that we no longer look upon them as friends, but, on the contrary, waiting an opportunity to join our enemies.

"That no observation of my own may remain obscure, I beg to observe, that I think the clergy, or guardians of the souls and the conductors of the bodies of these enthusiasts, have been neglected, perhaps in some instances ill used. Be that as it will, they are unanimous, though privately, against our cause, and I have too much reason to fear many of them, with other people of some consequence, have carried on a correspondence the whole winter with General Carleton in Quebec and are now plotting our destruction. The peasantry in general have been ill used. With respect to the better sort of people, both French and English, seven-eighths are Tories, who would wish to see our throats cut and perhaps would readily assist in doing it."—[Vol. III, p. 362: *Writings of Washington.*]

"The Church did not prove ungrateful to England for the favors of toleration and freedom which had been conferred at the Conquest. In 1775, Bishop Briand issued a *mandement* denouncing the "perniscious design" of the invaders under Montgomery and Arnold, praising the magnanimity and kindness of the King toward his French subjects, and urging the defence of homes and frontiers and religious interests against the Continental troops. During the troubles preceding the War of 1812 Mgr. Plessis took still stronger ground, and in a long and eloquent *mandement*, issued on September 16, 1807, and based on the principle of "Fear God and honor the King," he urged loyalty to Great Britain and denounced as unworthy the name of Catholic or Canadian any individual who was not ready to take up arms in opposing a possible American invasion. A little later, when American missionaries began to stir up the people with promises of what republican liberty would do for them, he issued a letter of concise and stringent instructions to all Catholics of his diocese regarding the necessity of inculcating loyalty."—[*The Story of the Dominion*, by Hopkins; p. 80.]

PELISSIER, DIRECTOR OF THE IRON WORKS AT THREE RIVERS, CANADA, TO THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, ADVISING MEASURES FOR THE CAPTURE OF QUEBEC AND TELLING THAT SOME OF THE PRIESTS HAD PRAYED THAT GOD WOULD EXTERMINATE THE AMERICAN TROOPS COMING TO CANADA.

Forges of St. Maurice, January 8, 1776.

Sir:—In December last, General Montgomery acquainted me with his Intention of calling an Assembly in this Colony, to the End that Deputies might be chosen to join the Continental Congress. He engaged me to use my Endeavors to accomplish this Affair; but not finding it then practicable, I went to the Camp to confer with him on the proper Measures to be taken hereafter, for that purpose.

From the Informations he had received, and those I had obtained, we were both of Opinion, that this Convention ought not to be attempted till after the Reduction of Quebec; as the Royalists, who were numerous in the Towns of Montreal and Three Rivers, were continually intimidating the People with supposed Consequences, and giving them odious and contemptible Ideas of the American Confederation.

This brave General, impatient to forward the Designs of the Congress, resolv'd to remove all Difficulties & Obstacles, by a bold Stroke in Assaulting the City of Quebec. He did not succeed, and had the Misfortune there to finish his Days. He fell much regretted by all those who were persuaded that noble and generous Motives alone had determined him to engage in the Service of his Country.

This Repulse has in no wise altered the good Dispositions of the Friends of America here, tho' they are a very small Number, but it has made the Royalists more audacious than ever, particularly those who are in the Pay of the Government. They already cry victory. But I flatter myself that they are grossly mistaken, for if Quebec is attack'd according to the Rules of War, on the Side of the Palace Gate, no Season, in my opinion, can prevent the City's being taken in a few Days.

[There follows a particular Description of the Walls and Defences on that Side, with the propos'd Method of Ruining those Works, & making a Breach; written with an Appearance of Skill in practical Engineering.]

The writer goes on:

I imagine, that if the Congress continues to afford us its general Assistance, and the above methodical Plan of attacking Quebec is put in Execution, that City must soon be taken; the Royalists will then be confounded, the Just will prevail over the Unjust, the timid Canadians will be encouraged & emboldened to join in Preparations for opposing the Parliamentary Forces, which may arrive this Year, with a Design to execute the Resolutions taken long since to reduce to a State of Servitude all the Inhabitants of North America.

I cannot but observe upon this Head, that when the Ministry determin'd to abolish the Privileges of Massachusetts Bay, they endeavor'd to save appearances at least, by creating a Cause of Quarrel in Imposing a Duty upon Tea. But they fancied they might enslave the Canadians without so much Ceremony. They even presumed they could persuade us it was for our good, and that we owed them, for so much Kindness, everlasting Gratitude. I own they must have had a wretched opinion of us, to think of thus treating us. It was the height of Contempt. But they were mistaken.

When in 1765, General Murray, under the specious Pretense of forming an Assembly of Representatives who should all be Canadians, intended to reestablish the Government on the same footing it had been under France, it was easy to conclude it a Plan of the Ministry, and that the Promises made us, & which had been confirm'd by the King's Proclamation in 1763, were no longer to be considered as binding. General Murray not being able to carry this Plan into Execution, was removed. Ministry substituted Gen. Carleton who in the same views sounded the Sentiments of the Canadians, and omitted nothing to persuade them, that their ancient Laws, Customs & Usages would be most suitable and convenient for them, but having met with Opposition among those who knew the Difference between Liberty & Despotism, he no longer communicated with, or took into his Confidence, any but some Canadian Officers & the Clergy. In them he found all he wanted, that is to say, Courtiers, who pleas'd with the Hope of seeing a Return of the Times in which they might domineer over the People, serv'd him in every thing he desir'd, and in consequence, addressed a Petition to the King, in the Name of all the Inhabitants of the Province of Quebec,

to have the wise British Constitution withdrawn, which in Effect was asking Chains for their Fellow Citizens.

It ought not to be supposed that the Canadians in general were so base. Some Flatterers, and some Ignorant People bigoted to ancient Customs, signed this shameful Petition, without being authorized by any but themselves, to the Number of 65 only.

It was upon this *bespoken* Petition, that the Ministry, who had their Views in obtaining it, seiz'd with Eagerness the Opportunity of establishing arbitrary power in this Country by the Quebec Act. All the Good People of this Province would have found themselves subjected to it, if the neighbouring Colonies had not pitied their unhappy Fate, and lent their Assistance to throw off the odious Yoke: for which we ought to be forever gratified. But it cannot and ought not to be concealed, that this good disposition & these good Sentiments may be corrupted in some, if the Precaution is not taken of purging the Colonies of all those Flatterers who receive Pay from the Government. It may be considered as certain, that if they are suffered to remain here, they will work a Division that may be prejudicial to all the United Colonies. They are already doing it, by insinuating to the People, that a large Army will be here next Spring from old England, and that being guilty of Rebellion, they will have no other Resource then joining that Army to obtain their Pardon, without which their Houses will be pillaged & burnt, and themselves punished with Death. Such are the Discourses daily held to a People naturally too credulous. If this Evil is not soon cut up by the Roots, it may become incurable; for Impressions of this Nature become in time like the Prejudices of Infancy: very difficult to remove. Besides, by the abusive and contumelious Epithets they make use of in speaking of our good Neighbours who come to succour us, they endeavour to render them, together with Liberty itself, contemptible in the Eyes of the Canadians. These base Practices cannot but produce a bad effect; and are so much the more dangerous and serious, as upon the Precautions to be taken with regard to them, depends greatly the Preservation of the Province.

If, as it may be presumed, no Agreement should take place between the Colonies & Britain, before the Spring it is probable that she will send a Force into the River St. Lawrence, for the purpose of Penetrating the other Colonies, by the Aid of the Canadians, brought again under her Yoke thro' Menaces or Promises. It seems

to me, that to render such an Expedition fruitless, there are two principal Means which deserve particular Attention. The first would be to support & retain the Canadians; the second to hinder Fleets coming up the River, or passing above Quebec.

The Circumstances necessary for retaining & supporting the Canadians, are, 1. That proper Precautions be taken for securing the Persons salaried here by Government, the other Royalists, and particularly all the Military.

2. Altho' it is reasonable that the Canadians should pay their Proportion of the Charges of the War, I imagine it would be proper to delay levying it for some time, as this People having never been accustomed to pay any Tax but by way of Duties on Importation & Exportation, would fancy they had been deceiv'd & that they were conquer'd merely to be taxed, and made to pay all the Expense of this War, as the Royalists endeavour to persuade them

3. That they may not be alarmed, it is necessary to leave them in Possession of their Bishops, their Priests, & the free Exercise of their Religion. It is true that some of the Curates have made public Prayers during nine Days that God would exterminate the Troops that our good Neighbours have kindly sent to assist us; but Prudence requires that no Notice should be taken of that Conduct.

As to the Measures to be taken for hindering a Fleet's passing above Quebec, it seems to me that the most expedient for Persons who, jealous of their Liberty, ought not to risque too much upon the Chance of a Battle, would be to burn it.

[The writer then goes on to describe very particularly the Places where it should be attempted, and the Manner he proposes of doing it, which may properly be submitted to the Consideration of the General.]

He concludes his Letter thus,

If I have taken the Liberty to communicate to you my Sentiments thus on the Attack of Quebec & Defence of the Colony, it is because persuaded as I am of the Justice of the Cause of America, no one desires more than myself to see her succeed in her most laudable Enterprise.

I shall esteem myself very happy, if my Reflections may Occasion the Use of some Means that may turn to her Advantage.

I have the honour to be with perfect Consideration, Sir,
Your most humble & most obedient Servant,
PELISSIER,
Director of the Iron Works near
the 3 Rivers.

Postscript, 28 January, 1776:—

I am now at Montreal, where I have an Opportunity of making some Observations, which I think I ought to communicate to you.

I have found the Number of Royalists much more considerable here than I imagined. If they are not bridled it is to be feared they may change the good disposition of the Country People. I believe that if the Reinforcements destined for Canada arrive soon, and are quartered in the Country, that may be a means of stopping the progress of the bad Discourses. There is time yet to do it, and the People will not dislike it.

[The rest of the Postscript contains some additional particulars relating to the Attack of Quebec; and recommends the sending up some heavy Cannon, and good Engineers to direct the Works.]

Endorsed: "Translation of Monsr. Pelissier's letter concerning affairs in Canada, 1776."

(Notes in brackets are by Franklin.)

(From *Continental Congress Papers*, 78, XVIII, 43, Library of Congress.)

Here are a few items about Pelissier supplied by Mr. L. P. Sylvain, Library of Parliament, Ottawa, Canada:

In 1767 Pelissier, a merchant of Quebec, organized the company of the St. Maurice Iron Works in order to continue the operations of the mine with more vigor. In 1771 the company was reorganized, with Pelissier as director of same.

Pelissier (Christophe) was born at Lyons, France, in 1730, and called himself "eèrivain", when he got married, at Quebec, on the 16th of October, 1758, to Martha Beaudoin, who died in 1763, after having four children.

On March 8, 1775, Pelissier was married, for the second time, to Catherine Delezenne, who had been courted by Laterrière.

Pelissier helped the invading American army during the occupation of Three Rivers, which lasted from November, 1775, to June, 1776. On the 7th of June, he started from Three Rivers, leaving his wife at the iron works (aux forges). He passed through Sorel,

St. John, and made a stay at Carillon, where he was employed by the Americans as an engineer. From there he went to the Congress and succeeded in obtaining indemnity for certain losses, and then started for France.

In the spring of 1777 a power of attorney from Pelissier was sent to a friend at Quebec, dated from Lyons, for the sale of the iron works, but nothing was done. The iron works at St. Maurice were royal property. In August, 1778, Pelissier was back at Quebec, having come with General Haldimand, who belonged to Burgoyne's Army, in 1778. Pelissier and Laterriere settled their accounts to their mutual satisfaction, and Pelissier kept the iron works, but Laterriere seems to have kept Pelisser's wife with him for his share. Then Pelissier managed to get hold of his wife, hid her in Quebec, and threatened to put her in a convent in France. In the autumn Laterriere discovered the retreat of *la Belle* Catherine, and carried her away to Besausour Island, where he was living.

In the autumn of 1778 Alexandre Dumas, trader at Quebec, bought out Pelissier's rights in the iron works, and Pelissier sailed for France with the children from his first wife. Laterriere was arrested by Haldimand for having conspired with the Americans and was kept a prisoner from February, 1779, to November, 1782. In the meantime Mme. Pelissier was keeping house for him and lived quite comfortably.

Laterriere had three children from Madame. On the 10th of October, 1779, at Quebec, Laterriere was married to Mme. Veuve Pelissier.

Her husband must have died in France shortly before. Laterriere died in 1815, and his widow in 1830.

PELISSIER, THE FOUNDRYMAN OF THREE RIVERS, CANADA, MAKER OF AMMUNITION FOR THE AMERICANS ATTACKING QUEBEC.

Trois Rivieres, January 30, 1907.

His Grace the Bishop of Trois Rivieres gives this information about Pelissier, manager of the foundry at St. Maurice, near Trois Rivieres, who sent a letter to Congress, in 1776, showing how Quebec could be seized:—

Christophe Pelissier was born at St. Peter, Lyons, Department of Lyons, in 1730, an issue of the marriage of Francois Pelissier and Agathe Larigandiere. He married Marthe Beaudoin, who died in 1763. He had four children—Pierre, Maurice, Jean, Giuillaume and Catherine Madeline.

At the time of the conquest, in 1760, I believe that he was a very active merchant in Quebec. In those days the foundries at St. Maurice, which were situated about seven miles to the northwest of the city of Trois Rivieres, were very busy and brought great profits to the owners. These had been in existence from 1730, and had been worked up to 1763, and were then idle until 1767.

Christophe Pelissier, then formed a company and applied for the foundry at a moderate rent. He was successful and an announcement was made on June 9th, that Messrs. Pelissier, Alexander Dumas, Thomas Dunn, Benjamin Price, Colin Drummond, Dumas St. Martin, Georges Allsop, James Johnston and Brooke Watson had taken the foundries for a term of sixteen years, paying an annual rental of twenty-five louis.

The company did a very large business. The manager at Quebec was Dr. Pierre de Sales Laterriere, who Pelissier made inspector at the foundries in 1775.

That year the Bostonians made an invasion of Canada, Christophe Pelissier, manager of the foundries at St. Maurice, had a weakness for the Americans and hoped for the success of their enterprises.

"However, still very reserved," says Dr. Laterriere in his *Memoires* which have come down to us, "he only assisted at the assemblies and councils since the arrival of General Wooster in Trois Rivieres in winter quarters. These new comers having known him as a man of great talents engaged him to visit General Montgomery at the Holland House near Quebec. From that time, he was recognized and denounced by the spies of General Carlton as an adherent of the Americans, and therefore, a dangerous enemy to Great Britain. The other officers of the "Cyclops," myself, Inspector Pickard, the Bookkeeper, Voligni, the mate, were denounced because it was naturally supposed that we drank of the poison of the rebellion out of the same glass."

Pelissier seemed to take pleasure in compromising himself, and this is pretty well shown by the fact that he counted on the success of the Bostonians. He was not afraid to go near General Montgomery, and he supplied a great quantity of things and munitions of war to the American Army. In the foundry, which belonged to the British Crown, he made bombs and bullets, destined to bombard Quebec and to destroy the British Army.

The Americans having been defeated at Quebec, returned to Trois Rivieres, of which they had easily taken possession, and then went to Sorel. At this new disaster to the American Army, the Grand-Vicaire St. Onge of Trois Rivieres sent a short note to Pelissier warning him that His Excellency, General Carleton, would not be very much pleased to find him there while passing through. Pellisier was so terrified that he jumped into a boat and was secretly conveyed by two men to Sorel. From there he went to St. John and to Carillon (Ticonderoga). For a time he acted there as an engineer, but he and the engineer-in chief could not get along together, he then went to urge Congress to pay in advance the American Army, and then he went to France, to Lyons where his family was. Sometime later he sent a power-of-attorney to a Mr. Perras of Quebec so

that he could manage all his affairs in his name. The sum advanced to the Army by Congress was 2000 louis.

When peace had been made, M. Pelissier returned to Quebec for a short time; he fixed up his affairs with Laterriere, who had taken the management of the foundry, and then returned to France. He was a friend of Governor Haldimand—yet he could not live in Canada after his conduct during the American invasion. He married a second time, towards 1775 when he was sixty-six years old. Marie Catherine Delezenne, his second wife, was fourteen years old. Dr. Laterriere, who had similiar intentions in regard to the same young woman, tried to make out the marriage was null and void on account of defect of consent of the "infant" who had been forced by her parents to such an ill-mated marriage.

From the time of the departure of old Pelissier the Doctor "inherited" the management of the foundries, and the young wife, by whom he had several children, as he bluntly remarks in his *Memoires*.

I have the honor to be, Sir

Your most obedient servant,

(REV.) L. A. DUSABLON,

Secretary—Archivist.

Diocese Trois Rivieres, January 30, 1907.

The Continental Congress on July 29th, 1776, resolved:

That Mons. Christophe Pelissier, who has suffered considerably by warmly espousing and taking an active part in the cause of America in Canada, be appointed an engineer in the service of the United States, with the pay of 60 dollars per month, and rank of lieutenant colonel; and that he be directed to repair to New York.

A year later he presented the annexed PETITION TO CONGRESS.

TO THE HONORABLE, THE DELEGATES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS.

Christophe Pelissier humbly begs leave to represent, that having been honor'd with a Commission, appointing him an Engineer with the rank of Lieut. Colonel, has to the utmost of his Abilities discharg'd the Duties of his Station at Ticonderoga, as became a Man of honor truely attach'd to the Rights of the States, under the Command of Major General Gates and desirous of the power to demon-

strate his Zeal, and promote the Service, which he judges he cannot more effectually, than by requesting to be appointed Engineer in Chief at Ticonderoga, with the Rank attached to that Employ.

That a Company of Pioneers immediately under the Command of the Engineer in Chief is essential for the good of the Service, whom duely trained would serve as aids in assisting and overseeing the different partys employ'd on that Service, and would remove the many difficulties that result by employing dayly different Officers.

Your Petitioner flatters himself your honors will take into consideration the Alteration that has taken place since the appointment of the more early Commissions, which by the late regulations don't appear Noticed for the department wherein your Petitioner has the honor to Serve.

Humbly submitting the contents to the mature deliberaton of your honors your Petitioner as in duty bound will ever pray.

PELISSIER.

Philadelphia, January 17th, 1777.

From the Washington Correspondence, Vol. 90, folio 81, Library of Congress.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO THE BISHOP OF TRICOMIE FRANCE, WHO HAD SOUGHT HIS HELP IN OBTAINING AN AMERICAN MILITARY COMMISSION.

Passey, April 22, 1777.

Rev'd Sir,—Mr. Mercley, whom your Reverence mentions as having made Promises to Monsieur your Brother, was employed as a Merchant to purchase some military Stores for the Congress, but I know of no Authority he had to engage Officers of the Marine, or to make any Promises to such in our Behalf. I have not myself, (as I have already had the Honour of telling your Reverence) the least Authority from the Congress, to make Promises to Officers to encourage their going to America; and since my arrival in France I have constantly dissuaded all who have applied to me, from undertaking the Voyage, as I knew how difficult it would be for them to find Employment, a few Engineers and Officers of the Artillery excepted, who are gone. Nevertheless, if your Brother continues resolv'd to go thither at his own Expence, and the Risque of finding or not finding Employment, which I cannot advise him to do, I will

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give him Letters of Introduction to Gentlemen there, recommending him to their Civilities; but I must at the same time caution him against having any Reliance on these Letters as a means of procuring him a Command in our Armies, since I am by no means sure they will have any such Effect. I will, if you please, give him a Letter to Gen. Washington; but then I should have the State of his Services to enclose; and if accompanied with Recommendations from some General Officers of Note, it will be so much the better. My Door is never shut to your Reverence when I am at home, as I am almost every Evening.

With great Respect I have the Honour to be

Your Reverence's most obedient & most humble Servt,

B. F.

Bishop of Tricomie.

—[From *Franklin Papers*, in Library of Congress, Fol. 353.

CAPTAIN DOHICKY ARUNDEL, "A FOREIGN PAPIST," THE FIRST "FRENCH ARTILLERY OFFICER" TO OFFER SERVICES TO THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS; COMMISSIONED AS CAPTAIN AND KILLED IN THE BATTLE AT GWYN'S ISLAND, CHESAPEAKE BAY, JULY 8, 1776.

"That thou wilt hallow with a blessing the graves of those who 'fought the good fight'—who found death sweeter than dishonor and prized Life less than Liberty."—(Rev. F. J. McArdle, prayer at Independence Hall, July 4th, 1903.)

The *Journal* of the Continental Congress for January 16, 1776, records: "A letter from Mr. [Francis] Lewis, dated January 8th, being read recommending a stranger to the notice of Congress.

"Ordered that the same be referred to the Committee on the qualifications of persons applying for offices."

Francis Lewis was one of the delegates from New York.

That this "stranger" was a French Artillery officer, appears from the diary of Richard Smith, delegate from New Jersey. He reports under date of January 17th:

"A report from the Comee about a French Artillery officer who offers his services and brought a certificate from the Military School at Strasburg, and two Commissions of Lieutenancy from the King of France, was referred to Dr. Franklin and Col. St. Clair to examine his abilities."—[*Am. His. Rev.* Vol. 1. p. 493.]

An artillery officer was a great addition to the army. General Charles Lee in writing to Robert Morris from Washington's army at Cambridge on July 4, 1775, said:

"We were assur'd that we should find an expert train of artillery. They have not a single gunner."—[Lee Papers,—188].

Col. St. Clair was attached to General Schuyler's army and was at Philadelphia in connection with the projected invasion of Canada. A month later, February 16th, he was with General Schuyler. Congress directed he should send his battalions to Canada as fast as the companies could be got ready.

The *Journal* of Congress for February 5th, records:

Resolved: That Mr. Dohicky Arundell, who was recommended to the notice of Congress by Mr. (Francis) Lewis, be desired to repair to General Schuyler, and that General Schuyler be directed to examine him, and if he finds him capable, and suitably qualified, to employ him in the artillery service in Canada."

General Schuyler was then in Albany engaged in preparing an expedition for the invasion of Canada.

That the "stranger" the "French artillery officer" recommended to Congress by Mr. Lewis was a Catholic, appears also from the diary of Richard Smith who under date of February 5th, 1776, records:

Feb. 5th. "The Foreigner whom Dr. Franklin and St. Clair were to examine as to his Proficiency in the knowledge of Artillery was now recommended to General Schuyler for Preferment, tho' some members Paine and Sherman in particular, did not approve of employing in our Service Foreign Papists."—[*Am. His. Rev.* Vol. 1, p. 499.]

On February 8th, Congress resolved:

That the sum of one hundred dollars be paid to Mr. Dohicky Arundel, and that he be directed immediately to repair to General Schuyler.

Smith's diary under same date records:

Feb. 8th. "100 dollars ordered to be presented to the French Artillery Officer to bear his charges to Albany. [*Ibid.*]

So Dohicky Arundel was a "French Artillery officer," and a "Papist," whom Robert Treat Paine, delegate from Massachusetts and Roger Sherman of Connecticut "in particular" objected to employing as he was a "foreign Papist."

Dohicky Arundell seemeth not to be a French name. Arundel is that of a noble English family of staunch Catholics one of whom

Lord Arundel of Wardour was associated with the settlement of Avalon and of Maryland, and in 1630 with Lord Baltimore was given a grant of land south of Virginia. "Ere William fought or Harold fell there were Earls of Arundel." The Duke of Norfolk is now the Earl of Arundel. Lord Arundel of Wardour died December, 1906.

Was this volunteer one of that family who, debarred by English law from serving in the army of England, entered that of France and becoming proficient as an artillerist, came to America, the first to offer his services to the Colonies? It does not seem so as the name does not appear in the *Early Genealogical History of the House of Arundel,* by John Pym Yeatman.

There is a village or hamlet named Arundell in Normandy. Perhaps Dohicky Arundell came from there.

In Bigelow's edition of the complete works of Benjamin Franklin, volume 6, there is a letter from Benjamin Franklin to General Charles Lee, which contains the following reference to Arundel:

"Philadelphia, 11 February, 1776.

"Dear Sir:—The bearer, M. Arundel, is directed by the Congress, to repair to General Schuyler, in order to be employed by him in the artillery service. He proposes to wait on you upon his way, and has requested me to introduce him by a line to you. He has been an officer in the French service, as you will see by his commissions; and, professing a good will to our cause, I hope he may be useful in instructing our gunners and matrosses."

It may also be found in *The Lee Papers,* Vol. 1, p. 284, published by the New York Historical Society in 1871-2.

General Charles Lee was then in New York preparing to take command of an army for the second invasion of Canada. On February 17th, Congress directed him to "immediately repair to Canada and take command of the army of the United Colonies in that Province."

General Schuyler at Albany was directed to repair to New York and take command of the forces there.

But on March 1st, General Lee was notified by President Hancock that Congress "after a warm contest" had superceded the orders given him to proceed to Canada and had come to a Resolution that

he should take command of the Continental forces in the Southern Department which comprehended Virginia, North and South Carolina and Georgia.

Captain Arundell was then in New York awaiting marching order into Canada, but on March 18, 1776, Congress

Resolved. That Monsieur Arundel be directed to repair to the Southern department and put himself under the command of General Lee; and that General Lee, if he find him capable, be directed to employ him in the artillery service.

On March 19th, Congress

Resolved. That Monsieur Dohicky Arundel be appointed a captain of Artillery in the Continental service. That General Lee be directed to set on foot the raising of a company of artillery, and it be recommended to the Convention or Committee of Safety of Virginia, to appoint the other officers of said company of artillery.

Congress, March 30, 1776:

Resolved. That sixty dollars be advanced Monsieur Arundel to be deducted out of his pay and that he be directed immediately to repair to the Southern Department, and put himself under the direction of General Lee.

The same day two Engineers for the Southern Department were elected. [Baron] Marsenback and John Stadler were chosen.

On April 1st, Congress

Resolved. That Captain D. Arundel be allowed 48½ dollars, in full for pay and subsistence of a Captain from February 8th, the time he was recommended to General Schuyler, to the 19th of March, when he received his commission.

On April 1, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, delegate in Congress from Virginia, wrote General Charles Lee then at Williamsburgh, Va., notifying him of the appointment of the two Engineers and also saying:

"Congress have also appointed Monsieur Dohicky Arundel (who I expect will deliver this), a Captain of Artillery in the Continental service with the following resolve:

That General Lee be directed to set on foot the raising of a Company of Artillery, and that it be recommended to the Convention or Committee of Safety of Viriginia to appoint the other officers of said Company of Artillery."

President Hancock that day also wrote General Lee saying:

"The Congress having appointed Mr. Dohicky Arundel Captain of an Artillery Company, in the Continental Service, and directed him to repair to the Southern Department, and there put himself under your command, I have it in charge from that body to inform you that you are directed to set on foot the raising of a company of artillery. This you will endeavor to accomplish as soon as possible, being very sensible the service calls for such a company that we may be the better enabled to defend ourselves and annoy the enemy."

On April 2, 1776,

A petition from Daniel Duchemin, praying for a lieutenancy in the company of Captain D. Arundel, being presented to Congress and referred to the delegates of Virginia, the said delegates brought in their report which was read. Agreed to as follows:

That Daniel Duchemin be appointed a lieutenant of the artillery company to be raised in Virginia in consideration of the scarcity of artillery officers in that colony and that two months pay be advanced to him to carry him to Virginia.

This action, however, for some reason not on record, was set aside and the report of the committee was recommitted. The above set forth record is stricken out of the original manuscript *Journal* of Congress by lines drawn through it. Evidently the report was in conflict with the Resolution that Virginia should appoint all officers subordinate to Captain Arundel.

General Lee wrote to the President of Congress from Williamsburg, April 19, 1776, saying:

"I shall make Monsieur Arundel accountable for the sixty dollars but at the same time beg leave to submit to the consideration of the Congress whether the expenses of his journey should not be allowed; indeed, the pay of the Artillery officers and Engineers is so wretched that I do not see any chance of procuring men fit for the service on the terms and if they are to proceed; they cannot possibly subsist unless the expenses of their frequent journeys are paid. I forgot to mention that I advanced at New York to Monsieur Arundel fifteen dollars to carry him to Philadelphia."

The formation of another company of artillery was undertaken by the Committee of Safety of Virginia under Captain Innis, "who," wrote General Lee to the President of Congress, "professes himself

utterly ignorant of this particular branch," but was "a man of great zeal, capacity and merit."

Richard Henry Lee wrote General Lee April 22d, saying:

"It was certainly the idea of Congress and it is so expressed in their resolve, that you should raise a Company of Artillery for Monsieur Arundel and the Convention or Committee of Safety to appoint the inferior officers."

On May 7th, General Lee in writing to President Hancock, stated:

"Colonel R. Henry Lee informs me that it was not the intention of the Congress that Captain Innes's Company should be reduced to make way for Arundel, but that both should be established. Captain Innes who must I am sure be an excellent officer in any other department professed himself ignorant in this branch—his officers were equally ignorant. Arundel has got possession of the company and by his activity and knowledge, will, I am persuaded, make 'em fit for service—indeed, to establish an Artillery Company, Captain, subalterns and non-commissioned officers, being entirely composed of novices, can answer no end or purpose; it is my opinion therefore, that instead of these two companies proposed, that the addition of thirty or forty men to Captain Arundel's and two subaltern officers will not only be better, but that it promises more advantage to the service. Now I am on the subject of Captain Arundel, I beg leave to remind the Congress of what I mentioned on the subject of his expenses on the road."

At this time Lord Dunmore, the British Commander was ravaging the coast of Virginia and the several tributary rivers, along the James River was a scene of activity. The British cruisers were destroying crops and carrying off the slaves. Under General Lee these incursions were being opposed. He had occupied Gwyn's Island in the Chesapeake. Charles Henry Lee wrote General Lee from Williamsburg, Va., July 6, 1776, "Lord Dunmore still remains on Gwin's Island where, caterpillar like, we hear he has devoured everything in that place, so that it is probable force of some kind or other will shortly drive him thence." Two days later the endeavor to "drive him" off was successfully made. At which, though a victory for the Americans, resulted in the death of Captain Arundel.

An account of the battle of Gwyn's Island is to be found in the Virginia Gazette, for July 19, 1776.

According to the description in the paper, the Virginia forces reached the island at eight o'clock on the morning of July 8th, and began to fire with two batteries upon the British ships and fortified camp. The Dunmore was injured and obliged to haul off and the Otter also retreated. General Lewis attacked the British camp the next day, but the enemy had retreated. "In this affair we lost not a man killed, but poor Captain Arundel, who was killed by the bursting of a mortar of his own invention; although the general and all the officers were against his firing it. His zeal for the service lost him his life."

John Page, Vice-president of the Committee of Safety, writing to General Charles Lee, (then in South Carolina), from Williamsburg, Va, July 12, 1776, relates "the expedition against Gwyn's Island"—that Brigadier General Lewis attended by Colonels Woodford, Stephen, Buckner, Weedon and some others, intending to examine the strength of the enemy and submit the propriety of an attack to a Council of War found the *Otter* British vessel was in the very place they had been preparing a battery for her. At 8 A. M., Captain Arundel and Lieutenant Denny saluted the *Dunmore* and *Otter* with two 18 Pounders—the very first shot at the *Otter*, though a full mile from our battery, struck her, as is supposed, between wind and water, for she did not return the fire, but was towed off on the careen. The *Dunmore* fired a broadside and then was towed off, having received four shots through her sides, whilst she was in tow she received a fifth through her stern, which raked her. Scarcely a shot was fired which did not do execution in some part of the fleet. A schooner lost one of her masts * * *.

We are now in possession of the Island.

Our men behaved well. Our artillery was admirably served and we have disgraced and mortified our enemies. In this affair we lost not a man—but, most unhappily poor Captain Arundel was killed by the bursting of a wooden mortar he was endeavoring to throw shells into the fleet from. His loss is irreparable! He behaved with great spirit and activity and was so hearty in our cause that he is universally lamented.—[*Lee Papers* 11, p. 132.]

Colonel Adam Stephen in writing to General Lee from Williamsburg, 13 July, 1776, said:

"Poor Arundel has knocked himself in the head by trying experiments."

Lord Dunmore was building houses, ovens and windmills in the Island. You may call them castles in the air.—[*ibid* 138.]

On Gwyn's Island at the time of the encounter were two French gentlemen—one the Chevalier De St. Aubin—who were bringing powder, arms and medicines, but were captured by Lord Dunmore and treated very roughly. When the British fleet was forced to retire they concealed themselves from the British when they were flying from the Island and by that means made their escape and delivered themselves up to the Americans. The Chevalier agreed to assist in training a troop of horse and to act as cadet till he proved his abilities and right to expect some sort of rank. The other French gentleman determined to return to Martinique.—[*ibid* 216.]

Heitman's *Register of officers of the Continental Army* has this:

ARUNDEL, DOHICKY (Va.) Captain of a Company of Virginia Artillery, commissioned 5th February, 1776; killed in the action at Gwyn's Island, Chesapeake Bay, 8th July, 1776, by the bursting of a cannon."

Thus died in defense of American Liberty within six months after offering his services, the "foreign Papist" objected to by Paine, Sherman and others of the Continental Congress. The first Frenchman to offer his services and the first to give his life for our country. May he rest in peace.

The ledger of the Commissioners for the War Department contains entries relative to Captain Arundel's accounts. The earliest record is that of March 5, 1776, and the latest April 7, 1776. It is contrary to the Rules of the Adjutant General's office to give for publication any records. So the accounts of Captain Arundell who gave his life for our country's freedom, cannot be made manifest by a Department of the Government he aided in establishing.

On February 12, 1838, a Virginia Revolutionary land bounty warrant was issued for 4,000 acres and for 1,092¾ acres additional to James Stollings as heir of Dohicky Arundel for services as Captain in the Continental Line from March 18, 1776,—[*Sec. Va. His. Soc.*]

The Virginia Land Registry also shows that an exchange warrant for 500 acres was also issued.

From the Virginia Land Registry records, Book No. 3, were obtained the following documentary recitals:

Executive Department,

Richmond, February 10, 1838.

The heirs of Dohickey Arundel are allowed land Bounty for his services as a Captain in the Continental Line from the 19th March, 1776 to the 3rd November, 1783.

The Register will issue a warrant accordingly if not heretofore drawn, deducting the quantity heretofore received.

JOHN B. RICHARDSON. DAVID CAMPBELL.

On the 12th February, 1838, two warrants, viz. No. 8487 for 812 acres and 8488 for 2703 acres to James Stollings, heir to D. Arundel.

The vouchers as to the 4000 acres were not on file.

No. 3 pr. 567. 500 acres to Charles L. Allos, Esq., Atto in fact of Vespasirn Ellis who was the Atto-in-fact of J. S. Stollings, only heir of Dohickey Arundel, Captain the Continental Line.

The location of the land is not given, it seldom is. In earlier grants they were frequently located in Kentucky.

"Gwynn's Island in the Chesapeake, to the east of Matthew's County, and separated from it by a strait.

In Saffell's Records of the Revolution p. 411:

"Arundell, Dohickey, Captain, Virginia, killed July 8, 1776." By reference to Virginia Land Registry it is found:

Arundel, Dohickey, Book No. 3, p. 437, 4000 acres.

" " heirs " " p. 437, 1083½ acres.

" " Exchange Warrant, Book No. 3, p. 567, 500 acres.

I am indebted to Mr. Stanard, Librarian of Virginia State Library and to Mr. R. A. Brock of Virginia for information.

GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN, THE SON OF AN IRISH CATHOLIC AND GRAND SON OF A DEFENDER OF LIMERICK DENOUNCES THE "CURSED RELIGION" OF THE CATHOLICS OF CANADA AS "DANGEROUS TO THE STATE AND FAVORABLE TO DESPOTISM."

PHILADELPHIA, September 5, 1774.

Sir:—Your favor came safe to hand by Mr. Wharton, am much obliged for the seasonable hint you have given respecting masts. I should gladly give you an account of our proceedings but am under obligations of secrecy, except with respect to the general non-importation and non-exportation, the former to take place on the first of December next, the latter in September following. We have selected those Acts which we determine to have a repeal of or forever restrain our trade from Great Britain, Ireland and the West Indies, among which acts is Canada Bill, in my opinion, the most dangerous to American liberties among the whole train, for when we reflect on the dangerous situation the colonies were in at the commencement of the late war with a number of those Canadians on their backs, who were assisted by powerful Indian nations, determined to extirpate the race of Protestants from America to make way for their own cursed religion, so dangerous to the State and favorable to despotism and contemplate that by the late Act their territory is so far extended as to include by far the greater part of North America: That this will be a city of refuge for Roman Catholicks who will ever appear in favor of prerogative of the Crown, backed by an abandoned minister, aided by the whole force of Great Britain and assisted by the same Indian nations, we must suppose our situations to be infinitely more dangerous now than it was then, for while we are engaged with the Canadians on our frontiers, our seaports must yield to the ministerial fleet and the army, if they once prevail no man must expect safety until he professes that Holy Religion which our Sovereign has been pledged to establish. I am certain that no God may as well exist in the universe as those two Religions where the Papists have the power to expirate the profession of the other. We can easily discover the designs of the Act and are determined to counteract it in all events. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you in a few days after this letter comes to hand and give you a particular account of our proceedings in the interim. I am yours, respectfully,

JOHN SULLIVAN.

CAPT. JOHN LANGDON.

[Letters by Josiah Bartlett, Wm. Whipple and others. Written before and during the Revolution. Philadelphia, 1889, p. 5.]

Such was the bitterly hostile sentiments to the religion of his fathers of the "man who, in all the American provinces, was the first to take up arms against the King" at Fort William and Mary, at New Castle N. H., December 14, 1774. Within a year Sullivan and the like of him were seeking the aid—and getting it too—of these "Papists" professing the "Holy Religion" the King was charged with "establishing " and if he "prevailed" the Americans could not live in safety unless they "professed."

The letter well illustrates the violent temper of the times among the Colonists on the passage of THE QUEBEC ACT. It aroused the passion of the people and inflamed their minds beyond conception in our days. It was the active cause of the beginning of hostilities. The invasion of Canada well shows the fear the colonists had that the King and Ministry would make that country the "fit instrument" of imposing "Popery and Slavery" upon the "Protestant Colonies"—So they rushed northward to capture the country and hold it to prevent England making it a field of hostility against the Colonies to the South. And strange to record though their Religion had been denounced by the Continental Congress itself, Washington a member, as one "fraught with Impiety, Rapine and bloodshed in every part of the world, and had deluged England in blood," the Canadian people —not the clergy or noblesse—not knowing of these sentiments, aided in all ways to support the "Rebels" who had invaded their country, professing to be without hostility to their Religion.

But the Americans when in Canada lacked as fully as the soldiers of Washington's army around Boston, the good sense not to know they were injuring American interests by exhibiting, as they did, their venom against the "Holy Religion" the Canadians professed.

But in 1776 the "Rebels" sang another tune and actually elected a Catholic, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, though not a member of Congress at the time, one of the Commissioners to go to Canada to conciliate the Canadians and requested him to get a Priest—mind you a Priest of the "cursed Religion" of the Canadians—to go to Canada to help win the Clergy and people professing that "Holy Religion" to either stand neutral or to help the "Rebels" who had but lately howled so vigorously in condemnation of their Faith. Philadelphia then was what Sullivan had feared it would become, a "City of refuge

for Roman Catholics," for Congress was not only eager to secure the aid of the Canadians but was actually seeking an alliance with France, "a nation in which the Roman Catholic Religion" was "professed" as Washington in 1790, reminded Americans, had performed an important part "in winning their Freedom."

Sullivan himself later was not loath to get a "loan" from one of the "cursed Religion" and thus bring his name into disrepute as "a pensioner" of France.

Bancroft's *History of the United States*, Vol. X, page 502, in relating the articles of Peace with Great Britain said "That New Hampshire abandoned the claim to the fisheries was due to Sullivan, who, at the time was a pensioner of Luzerne," the French Minister to the United States. On page 452 he stated that "Sullivan was in the pay of France."

This charge came out of a letter of Luzerne's to Count Vergennes, the French Minister of State, in which he related that in 1780 Sullivan, a member of Congress, being in need he had, "under the appearance of a loan," given him sixty-eight guineas, and, after six months, he asked authority to charge the sum to "extraordinary expenses." Permission to do so was given.

John Sullivan was the grandson of Major Philip O'Sullivan, one of the defenders of Limerick, who went with his regiment to France after the surrender. His family was one of the most distinguished in the south of Ireland. His father was Owen O'Sullivan, who was a teacher in New Hampshire for over fifty years. He contributed four sons, all of whom became commissioned officers, to the Continental army. Two of these later became Governors, respectively, of New Hampshire and Massachusetts. John Sullivan, when the trouble first began, was an attorney with an established reputation and with a lucrative practice. On the authority of John Adams, he was worth ten thousand pounds when he cast his lot with the advocates of independence. He held the commission of major in one of the provincial regiments.

He had seen no active service, but possessed a good theoretical military education from a close study of all available works relating to the art of war. His ability was recognized by all his associates. He was chosen delegate from his town to the first Provincial Congress of New Hampshire, and was selected by that body to represent his

native province in the First Continental Congress which met in Philadelphia in 1774.

Then it was he wrote Captain Langdon also of New Hampshire, that "cursed religion" letter.

Bernard Coll of Boston, author of THE ANCESTORS OF GENERAL SULLIVAN in a letter to the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL RESEARCHES [April, 1901] says, General Sullivan's father was born and educated a Catholic but did not practice his religion after he arrived at York, Maine, in 1723, when he was about 33 years of age.

He was a "Redemptioner"—a servant bound out for a term of years to pay his passage money. So was his wife. He was a schoolmaster. For a number of years it is said the schoolmaster refused to attend any church, but as a schoolmaster he had to read Protestant prayers at times and thus drifted away from whatever Catholicity he had in him. His wife Margaret or Margery as she was generally called, could not have had much or any knowledge of her religion, and being without any education except what the schoolmaster thought fit to give her, she naturally drifted off from the Mother Church too. So you can see that although both parents were probably Catholics, they had no chance to practice their religion, if they cared about it, and when their children were being reared, all went with the Protestant people around them. She was a strong-minded, courageous, hard-working woman, who toiled in the field while her easy-minded husband taught school and acted as a scribe for the neighborhood. They were married about 1734, and lived together over 60 years. She was full of spirit, and if she had been brought up a Catholic she would have stood out for her religion, no doubt.

But the schoolmaster—the father of General Sullivan—had been "educated a Catholic" and had sufficient knowledge of his faith to have cherished it. But the absence of Priest or chapel or assembled faithful did its destructive work in the lessening and the final loss of Faith by himself and wife and even in their lifetime their son declared their early Faith to be "a cursed Religion." The same destructive force is working today.

ADDRESS "TO THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN"

By the First Continental Congress Denounces the Catholic Religion as one of "Impiety, Bigotry, Persecution, Murder and Rebellion Through Every Part of the World" and the Canadians as "Fit Instruments to Reduce the Protestant Colonies to Slavery."

On Friday, October 21st, 1774, the Continental Congress adopted an Address to the people of Great Britain in which the sentiments herewith annexed were expressed. It was written by John Jay a delegate from New York, but being adopted and sent out by the Congress he alone is not to be condemned as has been the practice among Catholics. The ADDRESS stated:

That we think the Legislature of Great Britain is not authorized by the Constitution to establish a Religion fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets, or, to erect an arbitrary form of government, in any quarter of the globe. These rights, we, as well as you, deem sacred. And yet sacred as they are, they have, with many others, been repeatedly and flagrantly violated. That relating to the passage of the Quebec Act which enlarged the boundaries of that Province and also, as the Colonies—"the Protestant Colonies" as they were declared to be believed—"established Popery in Canada" by giving the clergy the rights in the collection of tythes which they had had under the French dominion.

After showing that the "Proprietors of the soil of Great Britain are Lords of their own property" and asking "why the proprietors of the soil of America were not so regarded and were so discriminated against by Parliament," the Address continued:

"Reason looks with indignation on such distinctions and freemen can never perceive their propriety. And yet, however chimerical and unjust such discriminations are, the Parliament assert, that they have a right to bind us in all cases without exception, whether we consent or not; that they may take and use our property when and in what manner they please; that we are pensioners on their bounty for all we possess, and can hold it no longer than they vouchsafe to permit. Such declarations we consider as heresies in English politics, and which can no more operate to deprive us of our property than the interdicts of the Pope can divest Kings of sceptres which the laws of the land and the voice of the people have placed in their hands."

The Address in enumerating "the progression of the ministerial plan for inslaving us," stated:

And by another Act the dominion of Canada is to be so extended, modelled and governed, as that by being disunited from us, detached from our interests, by civil as well as religious prejudices, that by their numbers daily swelling with Catholic emigrants from Europe, and by their devotion to Administration, so friendly to their religion, they might become formidable to us and on occasion, be fit instruments in the hands of power, to reduce the ancient free Protestant Colonies to the same state of slavery with themselves.

This was evidently the object of the Act: And in this view, being extremely dangerous to our liberty and quiet, we cannot forebare complaining of it as hostile to British America. Superadded to these considerations, we cannnot help deploring the unhappy condition to which it has reduced the many English settlers, who, encouraged by the royal Proclamation, promising the enjoyment of all their rights, have purchased estates in that country. They are now the subjects of an arbitrary government, deprived of trial by jury, and when imprisoned cannot claim the benefit of the habeas corpus Act, that great bulwark and palladium of English liberty. Nor can we suppress our astonishment, that a British Parliament should ever consent to establish in that country a religion that has deluged your island in blood and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder and rebellion through every part of the world. This being a true state of facts, let us beseech you to consider to what end they lead.

Admit that the Ministry, by the power of Britain, and the aid of our Roman Catholic neighbors, should be able to carry the point of taxation and reduce us to a state of perfect humiliation and slavery. Such an enterprise would doubtless make some addition to your national debt which already presses down your liberties and fills you with pensioners and placemen. We presume, also, that your commerce will somewhat be diminished. However, suppose you should prove victorious—in what condition will you then be? What advantages or what laurels will you reap from such a conquest?

SENTIMENTS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS EXPRESSED IN THE "ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN" HOSTILE TO THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Parliament assert, that they have the right to bind us in all cases without exception, whether we consent or not; that they may take and use our property when and in what manner they please; that we are pensioners on their bounty for all we possess, and can hold it no longer than they vouchsafe to permit. Such declarations we consider as heresies in English politics and which can no more operate to deprive us of our property than the edicts of the Pope can divest Kings of sceptres which the laws of the land and the voice of the people have placed in their hands.

At the conclusion of the late war—a war rendered glorious by the abilities and integrity of a Minister, to whose efforts the British Empire owes its safety and its fame: At the conclusion of this war, which was succeeded by an inglorious peace, formed under the auspices of a Minister of principles and of a family unfriendly to the Protestant cause and inimical to Liberty. We say at this period and under the influences of that man, a plan for inslaving your fellow subjects in America was concerted and has since been pertinaciously carried into execution.***

Now mark the progression of the ministerial plan for inslaving us!***And by another Act the dominion of Canada is to be so extended; modelled and governed, as that by being disunited from us, detached from our interests, by civil as well as religious prejudices, that by their numbers daily swelling with Catholic emigrants from Europe, and by their devotion to Administration so friendly to their religion, they might become formidable to us, and on occasion, be fit instruments in the hands of power to reduce the ancient free Protestant Colonies, to the same state of Slavery with themselves.

This was evidently the object of the Act**Nor can we suppress our astonishment, that a British Parliament should ever consent to establish in that country a religion that has deluged your island in

blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder and rebellion through every part of the world. This being a true state of facts, let us beseech you to consider to what end they lead.

May not a Ministry with the same armies inslave you? It may be said, you will cease to pay them, but remember the taxes from America, the wealth, and we may add, the men, and particularly the Roman Catholics of this vast continent will then be in the power of your enemies, nor will you have any reason to expect, that after making slaves of us, many among us should refuse to assist in reducing you to the same abject state.

The Address was drafted by John Jay, one of the delegates from New York, but amendments were made in Congress so that it is not known whether the anti-Catholic sentiments were original with Jay or inserted by Congress.

In the following year, on July 7th, 1775, Congress issued another Address To THE INHABITANTS OF GREAT BRITAIN. After detailing evidences of the "wanton exercise of arbitrary power" it continued:

Shall the descendants of Britons tamely submit to this? No, Sirs, We never will while we revere the memory of our gallant and virtuous ancestors, we never can surrender those glorious privileges for which they fought, bled and conquered."

That referred to the "Glorious Revolution" in England in 1688-9, which was the foundation of the rights the colonists claimed. So they said. The Address continued:

"When the Powers vested in the Governor of Canada, gave us Reason to apprehend Danger from that Quarter, and we had frequent intimations, that a cruel and savage Enemy was to be let loose upon the defenceless Inhabitants of our Frontiers; we took such measures as Prudence dictate as Necessity will justify. We possessed ourselves of Ticonderego and Crown Point.

The day before, July 6, 1775, the Congress issued a DECLARATION SETTING FORTH THE CAUSES AND NECESSITY OF TAKING UP ARMS." One of the causes mentioned was: "For erecting in a neighboring province (Canada) acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a despotism dangerous to our very existence and secured by Acts of its own Legislature solemnly confirmed by the Crown."

MEMORIAL TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE COLONIES—CONDEMNING PARLIAMENT FOR "ESTABLISHING" THE ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION IN CANADA AND SAPPING THE FOUNDATIONS OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

On the same day, October 21st, 1774, that Congress addressed "THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND," it adopted a Memorial "TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE COLONIES." After detailing several "outrageous proceedings", the Memorial continued:

To promote these designs another measure has been pursued. In the session of Parliament last mentioned, an Act was passed for changing the government of Quebec, by which Act the Roman Catholic religion, instead of being tolerated as stipulated by the treaty of peace, is established, and the people there deprived of a right to an assembly, trials by jury and the English laws in civil cases abolished, and instead thereof, the French laws established in direct violation of his Majesty's promise by his royal proclamation, under the faith of which many English subjects settled in that province and the limits of that province are extended so as to comprehend those vast regions, that lie adjoining to the northerly and westernly boundaries of these colonies.

The authors of this arbitrary arrangement flatter themselves that the inhabitants, deprived of liberty, and artfully provoked against those of another religion, will be proper instruments for assisting in the oppression of such as differ from them in modes of government and faith.

From the details of facts herein before recited, as well as from authentic intelligence received, it is clear beyond a doubt, that a resolution is formed and is now carrying into execution to extinguish the freedom of these colonies by subjecting them to a despotic government.

The people of England will soon have an opportunity of declaring their sentiments concerning our cause. In their piety, generosity and good sense, we repose high confidence, and cannot, upon a review of past events, be persuaded that they, the defenders of true religion and the asserters of the rights of mankind, will take part against their affectionate Protestant brethren in the colonies, in favor of our open and their secret enemies, whose intrigues, for several years past have been wholly exercised in sapping the foundations of civil and religious liberty.

CONGRESS CHANGES ITS TUNE IN AN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF QUEBEC.

The same day, October 21st, 1774, that Congress declared these sentiments hostile to the Catholic Religion in these two public papers, It was

Resolved. That an Address be prepared to the People of Quebec.

Ordered. That Mr. (Thomas) Cushing, Mr. (Richard Henry) Lee and Mr. (John) Dickinson be a Committee to prepare the above Address.

The Committee reported a draft of the ADDRESS on Wednesday, October 26th. After being debated by paragraphs and amended, it was approved. Original copies of the ADDRESS printed, October 1774, by William and Thomas Bradford, are in the Pennsylvania Historical Society at Philadelphia, and in the John Carter Brown Library at Providence, R. I.

The ADDRESS was translated by Mr. Pierre Eugene du Simitiere, of Philadelphia, who charged eight dollars; two thousand copies were printed of which three hundred were sent to Boston on November 16th by Pierre Eugene du Simitiere.

It was printed by Fleury Mesplet, also of Philadelphia. Copies are in the Library Company of Philadelphia, John Carter Brown Library and the Library of Congress. The illustration of the title page is from this latter mentioned copy. It was also printed in German by Henry Miller, of Philadelphia, but no copy seems to be now known as in existence. It was also printed in English by John Holt, in Dock street, Philadephia, in 1774, but the date is given as September 5th, 1774—the day the Congress assembled. No copy of this edition appears to be in existence.

The Address was printed in The Pennsylvania Packet for November 14, 1774. It was addressed "TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC."

After referring to the rights without which a people cannot be free and happy and under the protecting and encouraging influence of which these Colonies have hitherto so amazingly flourished and increased," the Address continued:

"These are the rights *you* are entitled to and ought at this moment in perfection to exercise. And what is offered you by the late Act of Parliament in their place? Liberty of Conscience in your religion? No, God gave it to you, and the temporal powers with which you have been and are connected, firmly stipulated for your enjoyment of it. If laws, divine and human, could secure it against despotic carprices of wicked men, it was secured before. Are the French laws in civil cases restored? *It seems so.* But observe the cautious kindness of the Ministers, who pretend to be your benefactors. The words of the statute are that those "laws shall be the rule, until they shall be *varied* or *altered* by any ordinances of the Governor and Council." * * * Such is the precarious tenure of mere *will* by which you hold your lives and religion. The Crown and its Ministers are impowered, as far as they could be by Parliament, to establish even the Inquisition itself among you. * * *

We are too well acquainted with the liberality of sentiment distinguishing your nation, to imagine, that differences of religion will prejudice you against a hearty amity with us. You know, that the transcendant nature of freedom elevates those who unite in her cause, above all such low-minded infirmities. The Swiss Cantons furnish a memorable proof of this truth. Their union is composed of Roman Catholic and Protestant States, living in the utmost concord and peace with one another, and thereby enabled, ever since they bravely vindicated their freedom, to defy and defeat every tyrant that has invaded them.

This Address was signed by Henry Middleton, President of the Congress; the Delegates from Pennsylvania had it translated, published and dispersed; the Delegates from New Hampshire, Massachusetts and New York being requested by Congress to assist in forwarding the dispersion of the Address. "The Congress then dissolved itself."

LETTRE

ADRESSÉE

AUX HABITANS

DE LA PROVINCE

DE

QUEBEC,

Ci-devant le CANADA.

De la part du CONGRÈS GÉNÉRAL de l'Amérique Septentrionale, tenu à Philadelphie.

Imprimé & publié par Ordre du Congrès,

A PHILADELPHIE,

De l'Imprimerie de FLEURY MESPLET.

M. DCC. LXXIV.

That was a very proper thing to do after having given an exhibition of duplicity which justified the alleged exclamation of the Canadians of "Perfidious Congress!" when they had had read to them the ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF GREAT BRITAIN in which their Religion was denounced as one fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets. Yet they were, by the same Congress, lauded as so "liberal in sentiment" as to believe that the "difference in religion" between the "inhabitants of Canada" and the "Protestant Colonies" would not "prejudice" the Canadians against "a hearty amity with" the bigots who yet told the Canadians how insecure were their "lives and religion" under the laws of England which only "seemed" to restore the French laws which protected both against "the despotic caprices of wicked men." How concerned they were that such a religion was "insecure." And yet THE QUEBEC ACT which they declared to the Canadians only "seemed" to protect their religion, was the very Act that same Congress demanded the repeal of and denounced so viciously and was so "astonished" to see by that Act, the British Minister "establishing" as it had "deluged " England in blood and had dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution and murder throughout every part of the world, and, so had made these Canadians "fit instruments to reduce the ancient free Protestant Colonies to the same state of slavery with themselves." Congress did well to adjourn after doing all this. It could no further go in duplicity.

Yet in the composition of its members that was the best Congress of the Continent that ever met. Washington was the foremost member of it.

Before two years there assembled a Congress that, after the defeat of General Montgomery at Quebec, December 31st, 1775, and the failure of the campaign in Canada, sent a Commission to Canada to promise these "fit instruments of Slavery" the full and unrestricted enjoyment of the very religion the Congress of 1774 had denounced so vehemently as totally unfitting its believers for Freedom. They did more, they elected Charles Carroll of Carrollton, before he was a member of the Congress, one of the Commissioners to go to Canada and endeavor to secure the assistance or even the neutrality of these people, and they requested him also to get a priest, Rev. John Carroll, to assist in the endeavor.

Oh! Congress from its anti-Catholic pride and bigotry had had a comedown when disaster came to its army and the outlook had

darkened. Then it sought and got the assistance of France—"a nation in which the Roman Catholic Religion" was professed, as Washington afterwards declared he hoped his countrymen would not cease to remember.

But Glory be to God! These men of 1774 knew not what they did. They declared the Roman Catholic Religion one of civil and religious Slavery unfitting its believers for freedom. And yet, they were, as time has now revealed to us, but laying the foundations for the Catholic Church in our Country doing it more effectively too, than her own Ministers would have or could have done; giving the Church the best opportunity it ever has had to manifest how it can thrive and prosper and grow strong and reliant and do the work Christ established it to do—save souls—in the land of Freedom that it is in itself the embodiment of Liberty, possessing as it does the Liberty wherewith Christ made us free.

True indeed is it, even historically considered, as the Fathers of the Council of Baltimore declared — these men of 1774 and later years were but the instruments of Providence in establishing the freedom of our country and thus founding a Sanctuary for the Church. God does, indeed, move in mysterious ways His wonders to perform.

Think you there is no Religious Faith inculcated or strengthened by the study of History? Do not all of God's works tend to His glory and does He not make men, even His enemies or the enemies of Christ's Church, give testimony to His truths and bring all things to Himself? Oh, yes, and History of our country affords no more evident proof of this to the thoughtful than the, to men, despicable course of the Congress of 1774 and yet to the eye of God, but beginning the firm establishment of the very Religion they denounced King and Ministry for giving a measure of freedom to, although it was one of "sanguinary and impious tenets they believed."

Yet these same men declared Liberty of conscience to be a God given and not a man founded right and that it was but a "low-minded infirmity" to manifest prejudice because of differences in religion, at least it would have been so for the Canadians. So Congress reminded them of the liberality of sentiment which distinguished them and so did not expect them to avoid "amity" with them because they were Protestants yet they themselves showed no "liberality of sentiment" on the score of Religion but manifested that very "low-

minded infirmity" which they in reality feared the Canadians would show towards them.

Yet Bancroft and other would have us believe that American History teaches that Protestantism is Freedom and yet History shows it was but Slavery—slavery of mind, slavery in prejudice, slavery in a low-minded infirmity, slavery in bigotry, most infamous—and yet God made it all serve His purpose—to give mankind its last chance to self-govern, to establish a government of the people, by the people and for the people and to give His Church its safest security in the freedom of the country and in the hearts of the people—the people free—the Church free—both subject alone to Him and His duly constituted Ministers in Church and State all deriving their just powers and authority from Him.

And for all this: Glory be to God.

THE PETITION OF CONGRESS TO THE KING.

At the same session Congress adopted: A Petition to the King.

Congress mentioned the Acts of the last session of Parliament to which they objected. One was the "Act for extending the limits of Quebec," abolishing the English and restoring the French laws, whereby great numbers of British freemen are subjected to the latter, and establishing an absolute government and the Roman Catholic religion throughout those vast regions, that border on the westerly and northern boundaries of the free Protestant English settlements.

An accident happened to the Petition that made it unfit to be presented. Another had to be prepared and sent from America. Benjamin Franklin waited five times on Lord Hillsborough to arrange for the presentation to the King but the Minister having declared that he who would propose the repeal of the Acts complained of deserved to be banged, Franklin thought "it best to wait a little longer."

ARNOLD'S "EYE SAW THE MEAN AND PROFLIGATE CONGRESS AT MASS."

After his treason, Arnold issued a Proclamation "to the Officers and Soldiers of the Continental Army who have the real Interest of their Country at Heart and who are determined to be no longer the Tools and Dupes of Congress or of France."

It contained this sentence:

"Do you know that the eye which guides this pen lately saw your mean and profligate Congress at mass for the soul of a Roman Catholic in Purgatory and participating in the rites of a Church against whose anti-christian corruption your pious ancestors would bear witness with their blood?"

Copied from the original broadside in the Library of Congress.

The Congress at Mass was at St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia, at the Requiem Mass for soul of Juan de Miralles, the Spanish Agent who died at Washington's Camp at Morristown, N. J., on April 28th, 1780.

Chevalier Luzerne, the French Minister through his Chaplain, Abbe Bandol, had Requiem services at St. Mary's, on Monday, May 8th, 1780.

The invitation of the French Minister to the members of Congress and other celebrities in the City, reads in the one sent Dr. Benjamin Rush.

The French Minister has the honour to inform Dr. Rush that on Monday, next, there will be in the Catholic Church, a divine service for the rest of the soul of Don Juan de Miralles at 9 o'clock in the morning.

Doctor Rush endorsed his invitation:

"Received May 6th, 1780, but declined attending as not compatible with the principles of a Protestant."

That you can see the original of among the Rush manuscripts at the Ridgway Branch of the Philadelphia Library.

Arnold was present at the Mass in St. Mary's. In a few months he betrayed his Country and "his name remains for ensuing ages abhorred."

St. Mary's still stands—Requiem Masses are yet celebrated there, but "Arnold" means Infamy.

SCHUYLER'S ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF CANADA, SEPTEMBER 5TH, 1775.

Friends and Countrymen: The various causes that have drove the ancient British colonies in America to Arms have been so fully set forth in the several petitions, papers, letters and declarations, published by the grand Congress; that our Canadian brethren, at the extirpation of whose liberty as well as ours the nefarious schemes of a cruel ministry directly tend, cannot fail of being informed thereof, and pleased that the grand Congress have ordered an Army into Canada to expell from thence, if possible, those British troops, which now acting under the orders of a despotic ministry would wish to enslave their countrymen. This measure necessary as it is, the Congress would not have entered on, but in the fullest confidence, that it would be perfectly agreeable to you. For judging of your feelings by their own, they could not conceive, that anything but the force of necessity could not induce you tamely to bear the insult of ignominy, that is daily imposed on you, or that you could calmly sit by and see those claims forging, which are intended to bind you, your posterity and ours in one common and eternal slavery. To secure you and ourselves from such a dreadful bondage; to prevent the effects that might follow from the ministerial troops remaining in Canada; to restore you those rights, which every subject of the British Empire from the highest to the very lowest order, or whatever his religious sentiments may be, is entitled to, are the views of Congress.

In these sentiments you will readily believe that they have given me the most positive orders to cherish every Canadian, and every friend to the cause of liberty and sacredly to guard their property. And such is the confidence I have in the good disposition of my army, that I do not believe I shall have occasion to punish a single offence.

A treaty of friendship has just been concluded with the six nations at Albany. I am furnished with an ample present for their Caghnawaga brethren and the other Canada tribes. If any of them have lost their lives, I sincerely lament the loss. It was done contrary to orders and by scoundrels ill affected to our glorious cause, and I shall take great pleasure in burying the dead and wiping away the tears of their surviving relations, which you will communicate to them. Signed P. SCHUYLER & c.

Isle au Noix, September 5, 1775.

Washington Papers, No. 89 25. A Copy. Chas. Thomson.

SECOND ADDRESS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS "TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE PROVINCE OF CANADA."

After the defeat and death of General Montgomery in the attempt to capture Quebec, December 31st, 1775.

Congress on January 24th, 1776, issued the following Letter to the Canadians.

The Committee appointed to prepare a letter to the inhabitants of Canada reported a draught which being read and considered, was approved as follows:

THE LETTER TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE PROVINCE OF CANADA.

FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN: Our former address to you pointed out our right and grievances, and the means we have in our power, and which we are authorized by the British Constitution to use in the maintenance of the former and to obtain a redress of the latter.

We have also shown you that your liberty, your honor, and your happiness are essentially and necessarily connected with the unhappy contest, which we have been forced into for the defence of our dearest privileges.

We see with inexpressible joy the favourable manner in which you have received the just and equitable remonstrance of your friends and countrymen, who have no other views than those of strengthening and establishing the cause of liberty. The services you have already rendered the common cause deserves our acknowledgments, and we feel the just obligation your conduct has imposed on us to make our services reciprocal.

The best of causes are subject to vicissitudes and disappointments have ever been inevitable. Such is the lot of human nature. But generous souls enlightened and warmed with the sacred fire of liberty become more resolute as difficulties increase and surmount with irresistable ardor every obstacle that stands between them and the favored object of their wishes.

We will never abandon you to the unrelenting fury of your and our enemies. Two batallions have already received orders to march to Canada, a part of which are now on their route. Six additional batallions are raising in the United States for the same service and

will receive orders to proceed to your province as soon as possible. The whole of these troops will probably arrive in Canada before the ministerial army under General Carlton can receive any succors. Exclusive of the forces before mentioned, we have directed that measures be immediately taken to embody two regiments in your country. Your assistance in the support and preservation of American liberty affords us the most sensible satisfaction and we flatter ourselves that you will seize with zeal and eagerness the favorable moment to cooperate in the success of so glorious an enterprise, and if more considerable forces should become requisite, they shall not fail being sent.

At this period you must be convinced that nothing is so essential to guard our interests and liberty, as efficacious measures to combine our mutual forces in order that by such a Union of succour and councils, we may be able to baffle the endeavors of an enemy, who to weaken may attempt to divide us. To this effect we advise and exhort you to establish associations in your different parishes of the same nature with those which have proved so salutory to the United Colonies; to elect deputies to form a provincial Assembly, and that said Assembly be instructed to appoint delegates to represent them in this Congress. We flatter ourselves with the prospect of the happy moment, when the standard of tyranny shall no longer appear in this land, and we live in full hopes that it will never hereafter find shelter in North America.

Signed in the name and by the Order of Congress,

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

Philadelphia, January 24, 1776.

"Whilst our country preserves her freedom and independence, we shall have a well-founded title to claim from her justice, the equal rights of citizenship, as the price of our blood spilt under your eyes, and of our common exertions for her defense under your auspicious conduct—rights rendered more dear to us by the remembrances of former hardships." (Address of Catholics to Washington, March, 1790, and signed by Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Rev. John Carroll of the Commission to Canada.)

THE COMMISSION SENT TO CANADA BY THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

In February, 1776, Pruxdent La Jeunesse and John Dantermond arrived in Philadelphia from Canada to confer with the members of Congress relative to affairs in that country. The Journal of Congress for February 12th, 1776, records:

"The Congress being informed that a gentleman was arrived from Canada who had some matters of consequence to communicate.

Ordered, That the Committee of Correspondence do confer with him and report to Congress. The Committee met. The visitors presented passports from General Wooster in command of the American forces in Canada after the defeat and death of General Montgomery, and also from General Schuyler in command of the Northern Department, at Albany, New York. The passports read:

Head Quarters, Montl., Jany 20th, 1776

The Bearer, Mr. Prudent La Jeuness is hereby permitted to pass from this place to Philadelphia without Molestation he having been in the American Service in this Country and is to be Facilitated in his intended Journey with Provisions and Carriage at the Publick Expence.

By order of General Wooster,

JAMES VAN RENSSELAER, Aid DeCamp.

To all concerned.

From the Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 22, folio 213.

Head Quarters, Albany, Feby 1st, 1776.

Sir: The Bearers hereof, Monsrs. Prudent La Jeuness and John Dantermond, have my Directions to join your party and proceed to Philadelphia. You'll be pleased to furnish them with the Necessaries requisite to perform that Journey; they are not prisoners.

I am, Sir, Your Hmble Servt,

P. SCHUYLER.

To Lieutenant Brasier.

From the Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 22, folio 215.

Others from Canada on a mission, also came to Congress. General Charles Lee at New York, preparing for an expedition to Canada, reported to Congress on February 27, 1776 that "Messrs. Price, Walker and Bonfield are arrived from Canada. They are able to give the best intelligence and communicate the necessary lights on the measures to be adopted with respect to that country."

Lee was so impressed by the account of these Englishmen of Canada, who represented the few supporters of the Colonies among their members in Canada, that "without waiting for orders from Congress" he took "the liberty to contract for 4000 barrels of pork and a quantity of Rum" and did other acts of urgency.

General Lee suggested sending a Priest to Canada by the Congress. In a postscript to the above letter he stated: "I should think that if some Jesuit or Religeuse of any other Order (but he must be a man of liberal sentiments, enlarged mind and a manifest friend to Civil Liberty) could be found out and sent to Canada, he would be worth batallions to us. This thought struck me some time ago, and I am pleased to find from the conversation of Mr. Price and his fellow travelers that the thought was far from a wild one. Mr. Carroll has a relative who exactly answers the description."

The "thought" of General Lee expressed on February 28th, had become action two weeks before that date, as it was on February 15th that three Commissioners were elected and Father Carroll requested to go with them. But Price, Walker and Bonfield had no interview with Congress until after the Commissioners had been chosen. So the sending of Commissioners is due mainly to the coming of Jeuness and Dantermond.

It may be mentioned that General Charles Lee, the second in command to Washington is now regarded as a traitor more infamous than Benedict Arnold. When the next year taken prisoner by the British—willingly it would now seem—he, while in New York as a prisoner, prepared the plan for the capture of Philadelphia, the plan by which the British in September, 1777 did take the city. His conduct at the Battle of Monmouth when leading his men to destruction, so exasperated Washington that he is reported to have sworn—swore with an oath—when he detected the movement and so saved the whole army from destruction or capture. Lee was court-martialed and suspended for a year but he never served afterwards.

His "plan" was discovered in 1858 by Librarian Moore of the New York Historical Society. It proves his treason. His name is worthy of the abhorrence covering that of Arnold's. He loved dogs, hated Presbyterians and despised "Scotch Irish."

Let us follow Jeuness:

The JOURNAL of Congress for February 14th, 1776, records:

The Committee of secret correspondence report that they have conferred with the Person just arrived from Canada, and find that he was furnished with a Passport from General Wooster, containing Orders for his Traveling at the Publick Expence; with another pass from Gen. Schuyler to the same purpose, and one from the Committee of Kingston, who sent a Guide with him hither. That he has been engag'd in the American Service ever since the Appearance of our Forces in that country, of which he is a native; and being as he says well acquainted with the Sentiments and way of Thinking of his Countrymen, his Intention in undertaking this journey was to give the Congress true Information on that Subject. He says that when the Canadians first heard of the Dispute they were generally on the American side; but that by the Influence of the Clergy and the Noblesse, who have been continually preaching and persuading them against us, they are now brought into a State of Suspense or Uncertainty which side to follow. That papers printed by the Tories at New York have been read to them by the priests, assuring them that our Design was to deprive them of their religion as well as their Possessions. That the letters we have addressed to them have made little impression on the common people being generally unable to read, and the Priests and Gentry who read them to others, explain them in such a Manner as best answers their own purpose of prejudicing the People against us. That he therefore thinks it would be of great Service if some Persons from the Congress were sent to Canada, to explain viva voce to the People there the Nature of our Dispute with England which they do not well understand, and to satisfy the Gentry and Clergy that we have no Intention against their Interests, but mean to put Canada in full Possession of Liberty desiring only their Friendship and Union with us as good Neighbors and Brethren. That the Clergy and Gentry might, he thinks, by this means be brought over, and would be followed by all Canada. And unless some such Measure is taken, he is of the Opinion our Affairs there will meet with continual Difficulty & Obstruction.

He left Montreal, the 20th, past; says our Troops continued to invest Quebec; that he had heard of no Sally made by the Garrison, but was inform'd by an Ecclesiastick who came out of the town 15 Days before, that the Inhabitants were in great Distress for Fewel, and reduc'd to one Fire for 6 or 7 Families. That Flesh and Flour was also scarce; but they had plenty of corn, which not having Means to grind they boil'd to subsist on. That on his Route he met several Parties of our Reinforcements marching towards Canada. That Lake Champlain is frozen and passable, but Lake George not yet. He adds that there is great Jealousy in Canada, of our Paper Money. He offers to carry safely any Despatches the Congress may have to send into that Country.

The above report was written by Benjamin Franklin. It is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 22, folio 211. Copies of the passports are in the same volume, folios 213 and 215.

On hearing the report of the Committee on Correspondence, Congress

Resolved, That the consideration of it be referred till tomorrow.

The next day, 15th February, 1776, it was Resolved on the report of the Committee of Correspondence, that a Committee of three (two of whom to be members of Congress) be appointed to proceed to Canada, there to pursue such instructions as shall be given them by Congress.

The members chosen, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, Mr. Samuel Chase and Mr. Charles Carroll, of Carrollton.

Resolved, That Mr. Carroll be requested to prevail on Mr. John Carroll to accompany the Committee to Canada.

Resolved, That this Congress will make provision to defray any expense which may attend this measure to assist them in such matters as they shall think useful.

So it was the statements of the two gentlemen from Canada that induced Congress to appoint the Committee to go there.

The provision in the resolution that the Committee should have but two members of Congress on it was intended to allow the appointment of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, as he was not then a member of the Congress and also by appointing him to strive, through him, to get Rev. John Carroll to go with the Committee

to visit Canada. Father Carroll was then living with his mother at Rock Creek, Maryland.

The Journal of February 20th, 1776, records:

Resolved, That an order be drawn on the treasurers in favor of Monsr. La Jeunesse, for the sum of 250 dollars, for his services in behalf of the United Colonies.

On March 4, 1776, letters from Generals Wooster, Arnold, Lee and Schuyler were presented to Congress. They were referred to the Committee appointed to prepare instructions for the Commissioners going to Canada. On the 8th, the Committee on consideration of the letters reported; whereupon Congress directed that "the gentlemen who are appointed to go into Canada be desired to enquire into the cause of the imprisonment of the Militia in that country and others and take such measures in concert with the commanding officers of the Continental forces there, for their enlargement or confinement as are consistent with the principles of justice and the safety of the United States.

Wednesday, March 20, 1776.

The Congress resumed the consideration of the instructions and commission to the commissioners appointed to go to Canada, which being debated by paragraphs, were agreed to as follows:

INSTRUCTIONS.

Gentlemen: You are with all convenient despatch, to repair to Canada, and make known to the people of that country, the wishes and intentions of the Congress with respect to them.

Represent to them that the arms of the United Colonies, having been carried into that province for the purpose of frustrating the designs of the British court against our common liberties, we expect not only to defeat the hostile machinations of Governor Carleton against us but that we shall put it into the power of our Canadian brethren to pursue such measures for securing their own freedom and happiness, as a generous love of liberty and sound policy shall dictate to them.

Inform them that in our judgment, their interests and ours are inseparably united: That it is impossible we can be reduced to a servile submission to Great Britain without their sharing our fate:

And on the other hand, if we shall obtain, as we doubt not we shall, a full establishment of our rights, it depends wholly on their choice, whether they will participate with us in those blessings, or still remain subject to every act of tyranny, which British ministers shall please to exercise over them. Urge all such arguments as your prudence shall suggest to enforce our opinion concerning the mutual interest of the two countries, and to convince them of the impossibility of the war being concluded to the disadvantage of these colonies, if we wisely and vigorously co-operate with each other.

To convince them of the uprightness of our intentions towards them you are to declare, that it is our inclination, that the people of Canada may set up such a form of government, as will be most likely in their judgment to produce them happiness: And you are, in the strongest terms, to assure them, that it is our earnest desire to adopt them into our union, as a sister colony, and to secure the same general system of mild and equal laws for them and for ourselves with only such local differences as may be agreeable to each colony respectively.

Assure the people of Canada, that we have no apprehension that the French will take any part with Great Britain: but, that it is their interest, and we have reason to believe their inclination to cultivate a friendly intercourse with these colonies.

You are from this, and such other reasons as may appear most proper to urge the necessity the people are under of immediately taking some decisive step, to put themselves under the protection of the United Colonies. For expediting such a measure, you are to explain to them our method of collecting the sense of the people, and conducting our affairs regularly by committees of observation and inspection in the several districts, and by conventions and committees of safety in the several colonies. Recommend these modes to them. Explain to them the nature and principles of government among freemen: developing in contrast to those, the base, cruel, and insidious designs involved in the late Act of Parliament, for making a more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec. Endeavor to stimulate them by motives of glory, as well as interest to assure a part in the contest, by whch they must be deeply affected; And to aspire to a portion of that power, by which they are ruled; and not to remain the mere spoils and prey of conquerors and lords

You are further to declare that we hold sacred the rights of conscience and may promise to the whole people, solemnly in our name, the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion; and, to the clergy, the full, perfect and peaceable possession and enjoyment of all their estates; That the government of everything relating to their religion and clergy, shall be left entirely in the hands of the good people of that province and such legislature as they shall constitute: provided, however, that all other denominations of Christians be equally entitled to hold offices and enjoy civil privileges and the free exercise of their religion and be totally exempt from the payment of any tythes or taxes for the support of any religion.

Inform them, that you are vested, by this Congress, with full power to effect these purposes; and therefore press them to have a complete representation of the people assemble in convention, with all possible expeditiousness to deliberate concerning the establishment of a form of government, and a union with the United Colonies. As to the terms of the union, insist on the propriety of their being similar to those on which the other colonies unite. Should they object to this, report to this Congress these objections, and the terms on which alone they will come in to this Union. Should they agree to our terms you are to promise in the name of the United Colonies, that we will defend and protect the people of Canada against all enemies, in the same manner as we will defend and protect any of the United Colonies.

You are to establish a free press and to give directions for the frequent publication of such pieces as may be of service to the cause of the United Colonies.

You are to settle all disputes between the Canadians and the Continental troops and to make such regulations relating thereto, as you shall judge proper, You are to make a strict and impartial enquiry into the cause of the imprisonment of Colonel Du Fee, Lieutenant Colonel Nefeu, Major St. George Du Pres and Major Gray, officers of the militia, and of John Frazer, Esq. late a judge of the police of Montreal and take such orders concerning them as you shall judge most proper.

In reforming any abuses you may observe in Canada, establishing and enforcing regulations for preservation of peace and good order there and composing differences between the troops of the United

Colonies and the Canadians, all officers and soldiers are required to yield obedience to you: and, to enforce the decisions that you or any two of you make, you are empowered to suspend any military officer from the exercise of his commission till the pleasure of the Congress shall be known, if you or any two of you shall think it expedient. You are also empowered to sit and vote as members of councils of war, in directing fortifications and defences to be made, or to be demolished by land or water; and to draw orders upon the president for any sum of money, not exceeding one hundred thousand dollars in the whole, to defray the expenses of the work. Lastly, you are by all the means you can use, to promote the execution of the resolutions now made, or hereafter to be made in Congress.

On motion made *Resolved*, That the following additional Instructions be given the Commissioners aforesaid:

You are empowered and directed to promote and encourage the trade of Canada with the Indian nations and to grant passports for carrying it on as far as it may consist with the safety of the troops, and the public good. You are also directed and authorized to assure the inhabitants of Canada, that their commerce with foreign nations shall in all respects be put on an equal footing with, and encouraged and protected in the same manner, as the trade of the United Colonies.

You are also directed to use every wise and prudent measure to introduce and give credit and circulation to the Continental money in Canada.

In case the former resolution of Congress respecting the English American troops in Canada, has not been carried into effect, you are directed to use your best endeavors to form a batallion of the New York troops in that country, and to appoint the field and other officers out of the gentlemen who have continued there during the campaign, according to their respective ranks and merit. And if it should be found impracticable you are to direct such of them as are provided for in the four batallions now raising in New York, to repair to their respective corps. To enable you to carry this resolution into effect you are furnished with blank commissions, signed by the president.

Resolved, That the memorial from the Indian traders residing at Montreal, be delivered to the Commissioners going to Canada.

The draft of the commission to be given being taken into consideration and debated by paragraphs was then agreed to. It stated the members were appointed "to promote or to form a union between the Colonies and the people of Canada."

Robert Morris in writing from Philadelphia, April 6th, 1776, to General Gates said: "I suppose you know that Dr. Franklin, Chase and two Mr. Carrolls are gone to Canada and I hope a sufficient force will be there to put Quebec under their direction, for I agree in opinion with you, that Country must be ours at all events; should it fall into the hands of the enemy they will soon raise a nest of Hornets on our backs that will sting us to the quick. (Lee Papers, 1—388.)

Concerning the selection of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, John Adams, on February 18th, 1776, wrote:

He is not a member of Congress, but a gentleman of independent fortune, perhaps the largest in America, a hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand pounds sterling; educated in some University in France, though a native of America; of great abilities and learning, complete master of the French language and a professor of the Roman Catholic religion; yet a warm, a firm, a zealous supporter of the rights of America in whose cause he has hazarded his all."

The Commissioners left New York for Canada on April 2d, 1776. They arrived at Montreal on 29th. Mr. Carroll kept a Journal of his trip which has been published by the Maryland Historical Society and also has been reprinted in Miss Rowland's LIFE OF CARROLL, Vol. 1, Appendix B.

On May 11th, the Journal records: Dr. Franklin left Montreal to-day to go to St. John and thence to Congress. The Doctor's declining state of health and the bad prospects of our affairs in Canada made him take this resolution.

Yet the Doctor's health continued good enough for him to later go to France, do the great work he there did for the Colonies and return home engaged in political duties as President of Supreme Executive Committee of Pennsylvania and live until 1790.

On May 12th, 1776, the *Journal* states: Mr. John Carroll went to join Dr. Franklin at St. John's, from whence they sailed the 13th."

Dr. Franklin, at New York, May 27, 1776, on his return, recorded his indebtedness to Father Carroll: "As to myself, I find I grow daily more feeble and think I could hardly have got so far but for

Mr. Carroll's friendly assistance and tender care of me." [Works VIII—183. Spark's Ed.]

The entry of Charles Carroll and also of Franklin speaking of "Mr. John Carroll" is but another evidence of many of the times that Priests were then not very generally, nor for fifty years afterwards spoken of as FATHER. Congress called him MR., so did his cousin Charles of Carrollton. So did his associate priests and the people.

The companionship of Franklin and Rev. John Carroll on the journey to and from Canada is thought by some to have been helpful when Franklin was Minister to France, in securing Father Carroll the appointment of Prefect Apostolic and later that of Bishop, but that is only true in so far as that Franklin could give the Papal Nuncio at Paris personal information concerning Carroll and so enable him to endorse his selection. But neither Franklin's published correspondence nor the unpublished as far as investigations have gone, show any special intimacy or friendship between the Philosopher-Diplomat and the Priest.

Beyond the expression "bad prospects of our affairs in Canada" nothing can be gleaned from Carroll's *Journal* as to the doings of the Commissioners to bring about the union of Canada and the Colonies.

Chase and Carroll got back to Philadelphia on June 11, "at two o'clock in the morning" having left Bristol, Pa., at nine o'clock and were rowed down the Delaware to Philadelphia."

The only account of Father Carroll's *Journal* which has come down to us is the annexed extract from a letter to his Mother sent from Montreal, May 1, 1776. He wrote:

We have at length come to the end of our long and tedious journey, after meeting with several delays on account of the impassable condition of the lakes; and it is with a longing desire of measuring back the same ground that I now take up my pen to inform you of my being in good health, thank God, and wishing you a perfect enjoyment of yours.

We came hither the night before last, and were received at the landing by General Arnold, and a great body of officers, gentry and saluted by the firing of cannon and other military honors. Being conducted to the General's house, we were served with a glass of wine, while people were crowding in to pay their compliments, which ceremony being over, we were shown into another department and

unexpectedly met in it a large number of ladies, most of them French. After drinking tea and sitting some time, we went to an elegant supper, which was followed with the singing of the ladies, which proved very agreeable and would have been more so if we had not been so much fatigued with our journey. The next day was spent in receiving visits and dining in a large company with whom we were pressed to sup, but excused ourselves in order to write letters, of which this is one, and will be finished and dated tomorrow morning.

I owe you a journal of our adventures from Philadelphia to this place. When we came to Brunswick in the Jersey government, we overtook the Baron de Woedtke, the Prussian General, who had left the day before us. Though I had frequently seen him before, yet he was so disguised in furs that I scarce knew him, and never beheld a more laughable object in my life. Like other Prussian officers, he appears to me as a man who knows little of polite life and yet has picked up so much of it in his passage through France as to make a most awkward appearance.

When we came to New York, it was no more the gay polite place it used to be esteemed, but it was almost a desert, unless for the troops The people were expecting a bombardment and had therefore removed themselves and their effects out of town; and the other side, the troops were working at the fortifications with the utmost activity. After spending some disagreeable days at this place, we proceeded by water up to Albany, about one hundred and sixty miles. At our arrival there, we were met by General Schuyler and entertained by him during our stay with great politeness and very genteelly. I wrote to you before of our agreeable situation at Saratoga and of our journey from thence over Lake George to Ticonderoga; from the latter place we embarked on the great Lake of Champlain, about one hundred and forty miles to St. John. We had a passage of three days and a half. We always came to in the night time. Passengers generally encamp in the woods, making a covering of the boughs of trees and large fires at their feet, but as we had a good awning to our boat and had brought with us good beds and plenty of bed clothes, I chose to sleep aboard. [American Archives. 4 Ser Vol. 5. p. 1167.]

It is regrettable that Mr. Force did not give, if he had it, the whole of the letter, from which the above "extract" was taken. What a

treasure would be the letter from Saratoga relating the "agreeable situation" there and the entertainment of General Schuyler and doubtless making mention of his two black-eyed daughters, Betsy and Peggy. Where are those letters now? What became of his personal letters before he became Prefect Apostolic?

Father Carroll had accompanied the Commission that he might have influence with the clergy helpful to the mission on which Franklin, Carroll and Chase had been sent. But as within two weeks "the bad prospects" became evident to the Commissioners, it is no less certain that Father Carroll's endeavor, whatever they may have been, were not wholly successful. A general view of his situation has been shown in the account we have given of the case of Father Floquet, of Montreal, to whom Father Carroll presented a letter of introduction from Father Farmer of Philadelphia, which, said Father Floquet in letter to Bishop Briand, June 15th, "contained nothing amiss."

Father Carroll did not lodge with Father Floquet and dined with him but once. He said Mass there by permission of Montgolfer, Superior of the Seminary.

Colonel Hazen of the same Regiment of Canadians—Congress' Own—on the capture of Montreal by the Americans, restored Father Floquet's house to him, which General Murray, the British commander had "turned into a prison," said Father Floquet to Bishop Briand, who had "forbid his clergy to have any intercourse with Father Carroll." So Father Floquet was "suspended and summoned to Quebec." He declared he "was complaisant to the Americans out of human respect" for had he been "as violent against them as many others were, the whole brunt of the storm would have fallen on my head as I was the only Jesuit in Montreal. I would have served as an example to others and perhaps occasioned a persecution of my confreres in Pennsylvania and Maryland."

So Father Carroll was powerless to promote a union of those who were obedient, as Catholic principles required, to the Authority ruling them in Civil affairs and were also distrustful of the Americans who, claiming to be stalwart Protestants, vilely and falsely denounced as iniquitous the Religion of the one hundred and fifty thousand Catholic Canadians, among whom there resided but three hundred and sixty Protestants or adherents of the Church of England.

So the Catholic Priest and the "unsectarian" Philosopher returned home, the Priest to remain quietly at Rock Creek, serving the Catholics of the region, now partly occupied by the Catholic University and affiliated institutions of Religion and Learning and the Philosopher to enter upon a career of activity and usefulness, crowning a life of devotion to Country and Mankind.

So the mission to Canada, though half of the seekers and strivers were Catholics, the foremost in the land—was a failure.

Even after the Alliance with France, though an expedition under Lafayette was projected, yet it had to be abandoned. Spies like Captain Grosslein and others mentioned, reported conditions in Canada which brought distress to the councils preparing for the invasion, eager though Lafayette was to lead an army there, believing his French nativity and position would rally the French Canadians to his standard. But the Catholic Canadians when they could not aid—as they did in the beginning—stood resolute against taking arms to subdue the "Rebels" though they had been illy requited for their services and their Religion scorned.

Thus their neutrality was an effective and powerful force in the successful struggle the Colonies made. So that but for them and their brethren of kindred blood across the sea, the present British Minister's conjecture of "what might have been" had not the Declaration of Independence been adopted, would now be a realization, perhaps, of his surmises of how things would be.

Authority was, as ever, the stronger for the preservation of Canada to England, though Bigotry made its force the easier to move the people to be dutiful to Church and to State. Many were rebellious to both, and, singularly, it now appears, these are those most honored by Catholics of our country, who proclaim so steadfastly of the services Catholics gave to the Liberty and Independence of the Country, even though the struggle began in open hostility to our Faith and was only made successful by the aid of a "Nation professing the Roman Catholic Religion," as Washington declared as well as by the cooperation of Catholic Spain. Even the Catholics of Canada did not become a hostile force against the Colonies as was feared; those who did not take up arms for the Colonies did not join the army of the oppressor and England had to bring her Hessians and Highlanders to hold the Country secure, though Bishop Briand was worth many batallions in making that effective.

WASHINGTON'S ADDRESS.
"TO THE INHABITANTS OF CANADA."

Friends and Brethren:—The unnatural contest between the English Colonies and Great Britain has now risen to such a height that arms alone must decide it. The colonies confiding in the justice of their cause and the purity of their intentions, have reluctantly appealed to that Being, in whose hands are all human events. He has hitherto smiled upon their virtuous efforts, the hand of tyranny has been arrested in its ravages, and the British arms, which have shone with so much splendor in every part of the globe, are now tarnished with disgrace and disappointment. Generals of approved experience, who boasted of subduing this great continent, find themselves circumscribed within the limits of a single city and its suburbs, suffering all the shame and distress of a siege, while the free-born sons of America, animated by the genuine principles of liberty and love of country, with increasing union, firmness and discipline, repel every attack and despise every danger.

Above all we rejoice that our enemies have been deceived with regard to you. They have persuaded themselves, they have even dared to say that the Canadians were not capable of distinguishing between the blessings of Liberty and the wretchedness of Slavery, that gratifying the vanity of a little circle of nobility would blind the people of Canada. By such artifices they hoped to bend you to their views, but they have been deceived instead of finding in you a poverty of soul and baseness of spirit, they see with a chagrin equal to our joy, that you are enlightened, generous and virtuous; that you will not renounce your own rights, or serve as instruments to deprive your fellow subjects of theirs.

Come then, my brethren, unite with us in an indissoluble union, let us run together to the same goal. We have taken up arms in defense of our Liberty , our property, our wives and our children; we are determined to preserve them or die. We look forward with pleasure to that day, not far remote, we hope, when the inhabitants of America shall have one sentiment, and the full enjoyment of the blessings of a free government.

Incited by these motives and encouraged by the advice of many friends of Liberty among you, the grand American Congress have sent an army into your Province, under the command of General Schuyler, not to plunder, but to protect you; to animate, to bring

into action those sentiments of freedom you have disclosed, and which the tools of despotism would extinguish through the whole creation. To cooperate with the design and to frustrate those cruel and perfidious schemes, which would deluge our frontiers with the blood of women and children. I have despatched Colonel Arnold into your country, with a part of the army under my command. I have enjoined it upon him and I am certain that he will consider himself, and act, as in the country of his patrons and friends. Necessaries and accommodations of every kind which you may furnish, he will thankfully receive and render the full value. I invite you, therefore, as friends and brethren, to provide him with such supplies as your country affords; and I pledge myself, not only for your safety and security, but for an ample compensation. Let no man desert his habitation; let no one flee as before an enemy.

The cause of America and of Liberty, is the cause of every virtuous American citizen; whatever may be his religion or descent, the United Colonies know no distinction but such as slavery, corruption and arbitrary dominion may create. Come then, ye generous citizens, range yourselves under the standard of general Liberty, against which all the force and artifices of tyranny will never be able to prevail."

This Address was printed in September, 1775, in hand-bills before Arnold left Cambridge. A copy is in the Library of Congress. They were sent after Arnold and distributed in Canada.

Different Language with Regard to the Roman Catholic Religion.

In the Congress of the Confederacy of the United States, September 19, 1783, James Madison called attention to a petition presented by Henry Laurens, when a prisoner in the tower of London, dated December 1, 1780, which he thought "wounded the honor and dignity of the United States in such a manner that he was no longer fit to be entrusted with the character of a public minister much less to be solicited to continue his services as negotiator of a peace. Mr. Rutledge, however, declared that "the tenor of the petition was such as not to give offence and to obtain what he wanted."

In this view it is proper and warranted by former proceedings of Congress. Here he instanced the different language held by Congress with regard to the Roman Catholic Religion in the "Address to the People of Great Britain" and that to "The Inhabitants of Canada."

THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS ENDEAVORS TO INDUCE HESSIANS "TO QUIT THE BRITISH SERVICE," PROMISING THEY SHALL BE "PROTECTED IN THE FREE EXERCISE OF THEIR RESPECTIVE RELIGIONS."

The annexed Resolution of Congress adopted August 14th, 1776, was addressed to the Catholics among the Hessians as well as to those of other forms of religious beliefs.

Of the 29,875 Hessians sent to America, 12,562 did not return. Many deserted and remained in this country, their descendants, in many instances, now occupy a high social distinction.

Wednesday, August 14, 1776.

The committee appointed to devise a plan for encouraging the Hessians and other foreigners, to quit the British service, brought in a report, which was taken into consideration. Whereupon, the Congress came to the following resolution:

Whereas it has been the wise policy of these States to extend the protection of their laws to all those who should settle among them, of whatever nation or religion they might be and to adjust them to a participation of the benefit of civil and religious freedom; and the benevolence of this practise, as well as its salutary effects, have rendered it worthy of being continued in future times.

And whereas, his Britannic majesty, in order to destroy our freedom and happiness, has commenced against us a cruel and unprovoked war, and, unable to engage Britons sufficient to execute his sanguinary measures, has applied for aid to certain foreign princes who are in the habit of selling the blood of their people for money and from them has procured and transported hither considerable numbers of foreigners.

And it is conceived, that such foreigners if apprised of the practise of these States, would chuse to accept of lands, liberty, safety and a communion of good laws and mild government, in a country where many of their friends and relations are already happily settled rather than continue exposed to the toils and dangers of a long and bloody war, waged against a people guilty of no other crime, than that of refusing to exchange Freedom for Slavery; and that they will do this the more especially when they reflect, that after they shall have violated every Christian and moral precept, by invad-

ing and attempting to destroy, those who have never injured them or their country, their only reward if they escape death and captivity, will be to return to the despotism of their prince, to be by him again sold to do the drudgery of some other enemy to the rights of mankind.

And whereas the Parliament of Great Britain have thought fit by a late action not merely to invite our troops to desert our service, but to direct a compulsion of our people, taken at sea to serve against their country.

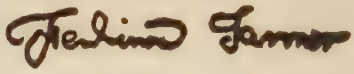
Resolved, Therefore that these States will receive all such foreigners who shall leave the armies of his Britannic majesty in America, and shall chuse to become members of any of these States; that they shall be protected in the free exercise of their respective religions and be invested with the rights, privileges and immunities of natives as established by the laws of these States; and moreover, that this Congress will provide, for every such person 50 acres of unappropriated lands in some of these States to be held by him and his heirs in absolute property.

Resolved. That the foregoing resolution be committed to the committee, who brought in the report and that they be directed to have it translated into German, and to take proper measures to have it communicated to the foreign troops. In the meantime that this be kept secret.

Resolved. That Dr. (Benjamin) Franklin be added to the said committee.

Benjamin Franklin writing to General Gates from Philadelphia 28th August, 1776, said: "Congress being advised that there is a probability that the Hessians might be induced to quit the British service by offer of land came to two resolves which being translated into German and printed are sent to Staten Island to be distributed, if practicable, among these people. Some of them have tobacco marks on the back, the so tobacco being put into them in small quantities as the tobacconists use, and suffered to fall into the hands of these people, they might divide the papers as plunder, before their officers could come to a knowledge of the contents and prevent their being read by the men. That was the first resolve. The second has since been made to the officers themselves."

HESSIAN AND BRITISH SOLDIERS MARRIED BY FATHER FARMER OF PHILADELPHIA.



On February 20th, 1778, while the British were in possession of Philadelphia, Michael Ruppert of Aschaffenburg, of the Hessian Regiment of chasseurs, was married by Father Ferdinand Farmer to Catharine, widow of Michael Kellerman, also of the Regiment of chasseurs. The witnesses were John Farber, Ignatius Limbeck and Anna Maria Farber, all of the same Regiment.

This record affords evidence, in addition to many others available, that many of the Hessians were accompanied to this country by their wives.

On May 5th, Ignatius Schneider, of Vienna, Austria and of the Seventeenth Regiment, was by Father Farmer, married to Catharine, daughter of Christopher and Catharine Viel; witnesses Hector Miller and Elizabeth Catharine his wife.

On December 13, 1777, Thomas Sullivan, a soldier of the 49th Regiment, was married by Father Farmer to Sarah Stormont; witnesses Daniel McCarthy and Elizabeth Mealy.

On March 12th, 1778, Robert Rollo, a substitute in the ——Regiment, and Ann Allen were married by Father Farmer; witnesses. Patrick Byrne, Roger Flahavan, Patrick Rice and others.

On May 1st, John George Bauer and Elizabeth Reinhart, who "had already been married in Germany but without due observance of the decrees of the Council of Trent" says the register made by Father Farmer had the conditions fulfilled; witnesses, Adam Mayer and John Manderfield.

Perhaps other of the marriages recorded may have been of British or Hessian soldiers though not so stated on the register.

Many of the Hessians while prisoners were retained at Carlisle, Pa. Rev. H. G. Ganss, historian of the Church there says, "Our cemetery gives evidence that some of them either by birth or conversion were Catholics and their bodies lie interred in consecrated ground. (Records A. C. H. S. VI. p. 316.)

"ADDRESS TO LORD NORTH," BY AMERICAN SUPPORTERS IN ENGLAND DENOUNCE HIM FOR ESTABLISHING "THE ROMISH, SUPERSTITIOUS, IDOLATROUS HIERARCHY, PROFESSEDLY INTOLERANT, PERFIDIOUS AND BLOODY."

The *Pennsylvania Ledger*, of February 1st, 1775, reprinted from the *London Evening Post* an "ADDRESS TO LORD NORTH," in which it was declared:

The Constitution of your country and the principles of the Revolution have been the invariable rule of your political conduct. You have erected in the heart of every American a monument of gratitude more durable than brass or marble.

Then follows a few of the "glorious acts of your administration, and the numerous experiences which you have industriously employed to drive a brave and loyal people into overt acts of resistance." Among these this was stated:

"The Romish, superstitious, idolatrous hierarchy, professedly intolerant, perfidious and bloody, to the eternal disgrace of our Monarch, dishonor to God and infamy of the Bishops, established by a solemn Act of your unprincipled legislature, diametrically opposite to his Majesty's coronation oath, the principles of the Revolution and Reformation, in a vast part of the British dominions, with the perfidious, vindictive, Jesuitical design of making a nursery for arbitrary power and arming Papist against Protestant, to control the spirit of American freedom."

ABBE DE VALENT OF THE DIOCESE OF TOULOUSE, COMPLIMENTS GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia will boast of having been besieged many times, but never taken, its subjugation was not accomplished by several great commanders, it was kept to crown your prudence, your perseverance and your bravery.

In this now famous expedition, the conquered and the conquerors each found an advantage.

Philadelphia will be greatly obliged to you if you will have passed a law to unite the provinces which only seek their liberty and you, Sir, have found in its vigorous and determined resistance and in the conquests you have made all that could flatter the noble ambition of a great warrior and the glory of the Nation.

The laurels which your Excellency has gathered are of such a nature that they will never fade; there always will be time for you to make new crowns also, I dare, after a number of appreciations and best wishes of the highest order which you have received to offer you mine from this corner of Gascogne. It is indeed sincere and inspired by the humblest and most respetful affection.

Count de Lowendal honored me with a letter after the taking of Bergopsom (Berg-op-Zoom) on account of the best wishes I sent him, I indeed would be greatly flattered by having one from your Excellency I will pray the King of Kings that He will preserve you for long years to overcome the enemies who have sought to take by force the provinces of which you are the upholder and the protector,

I am with profound respect of your Excellency, Sir, your most humble and obedient servant,

THE ABBE DE VALENT, PRIEST, GRAND CHANTER OF THE CHAPTER OF LILLE-JOURDAIN OF THE DIOCESE OF TOULOUSE ON THE WAY TO AUCH.

Lille Jourdain, March 20, 1778.

[Washington MSS. Library of Congress.]

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON ADVISES WASHINGTON TO REMOVE ARMY STORES FROM BRISTOL, PA., AND TRENTON, N. J.

Pott's Groves, 22d Septr., 1777.

Dear Sir:—I would just suggest the propriety of sending Some active persons to Bristol and Trenton to impress wagons to remove what Continental stores are at those places and may be carried thither from Pha in consequence of your orders to Colo. Hamilton.

This measure is the more necessary as the order of Congress for removing these stores is suspended till their meeting at Lancaster may not be for some days. Mr. Smith one of our Delegates being returned home I must proceed to Congress to keep up a representation from our State. I desire my compliments to the gentlemen in your family and wish your Excellency health and success against our common enemy. I am with great esteem

Yr most obdt hum Servt,

CH. CARROLL, OF CARROLLTON.

His Excellency, General Washington.

Washington Papers, No. 16, folio 160.

Pott's Groves is now Pottstown, Pa.

CAPTAIN JEUNESSE OF MONTREAL.

Prudent [Preudhome] la Jeunesse, in February, 1776, came from Canada to confer with the members of Congress, and succeeded in having the Commissioners composed of Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, with Rev. John Carroll appointed to go to Canada to promote the interests of the revolting Colonies.

On August 10th, 1776, Congress directed that "La Jeunesse" receive a present of 40 dollars and be discharged.

On August 21st, 1776, A Petition from Preudhome la Jeunesse was presented to Congress and read.

The petition is in Papers of the Continental Congress No. 41, IV folio 376.

The Petition reads:

To the Honorable John Hancock, Esquire, President

The Memorial of Preudhome La Jeunesse of Montreal, in Canada,

humbly sheweth that by his great Zeal for the American Cause in the late expedition of Canada he was much distinguished by the Commanding Officers of the Continental Army, but after their retreat he could not be of further use and was directed to offer his Services to the Honorable, the Continental Congress. That he has been in Philadelphia upwards of Six weeks inactive and much desirous to enter into the Continental Service daily pressed upon by his own Countrymen and other Frenchmen or persons who understand French, wishing to be employed under your Memorialist of whom he might have 50, or more if he had a Commission to inlist them, and who will certainly diperse if they have not soon an Answer.

That his said Countrymen and more especially your Memorialist can never return to their Homes whilst a King's Governor is in full possession thereof, But whenever it should be thought proper for the Continental Army to reenter Canada, your Memorialist thinks, that Corps of Canadian Frenchmen and others who speak French might be of great use in that Service. Your Memorialist once more prayeth that his Case may be considered and that the Honorable, the Congress would be pleased to grant him a Commission of Captain of a Corps of Canadians, Acadians, French and others who speak French, And Your Memorialist as in duty bound &c.

PREUDHOME LA JEUNESSE.

Philadelphia, August 21, 1776.

From the Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 41, folio 376.

The same day the Committee reported "That the petition of Preudhome la Jeunesse be granted and a commission be given him to be a Captain of a Company of Canadians, Arcadians and French, to belong to Col. Livingston's Regiment and to join the army at Ticonderoga as soon as may be."

The report was "ordered to lie." It is the handwriting of Richard Peters and is in the Papers of Congress, No. 147, I, folio 3.

On Novenmber 4th, 1778, another Petition from la Jeunesse was presented to Congress:

To the Honourable, the Congress of the United and Independent States of America.

The Petition of Prudent la Jeunesse heretofore Officer Volunteer n the American Army in Canada, humbly Sheweth That your Peti-

tioner was employed as an Officer Volunteer in the Army of the United States in Canada during the space of Eighteen Months under the command of the Deceased General Montgomery, General Wooster and General Arnold and was at the Expeditions against St. Johns, Chambly, Mountreal and the Ceders. That at the retreat of that Army your Petitioner was also obliged to retire from Canada his Native Country, and take refuge amongst the United States to avoid the Persecutions he should have suffered. That your Petitioner has not yet been Able to procure any Pay or reward for his said service. And finding himself destitute of Friends and Acquaintances in this, to him, a strange Country, and unable to procure himself a support, he has recourse to the Honourable the Congress, and humbly intreats they would be pleased to grant him his Pay or such other relief as in their Wisdom they may think proper.

And your Petitioner will ever Pray, &c.

PRUDENT LA JEUNESSE.

This may Certify that Monsr. Prudent la Jeunesse Commanded a Number of Volunteer Canadians in Canada, and From his Attachment to Our Army and having taken an Active Part against the King was under the Necessity of quiting the Country with our Army.

B. ARNOLD.

This Memorial is endorsed: "Petition of Prudent la Jeunesse, Read 4 November, 1778. Referred to the Board of War, who are directed to take such measures thereon as to them may seem expedient.

War Office, November 16, 1778.

The Board not having been properly ascertained of the Length of Time which the Petitioner served, or in what Rank, if any, and not having it certified from the proper Officer whether or not he received all or any Part of his Pay are not possessed of sufficient Evidence whereupon to found a Report to Congress on the Petitioner's Case."

From the Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 42, IV. folio 9.

JEAN BAPTISTE DE GAS, THE FRENCH INTERPRETER.

General Charles Lee, in writing from New York, February 14th, 1776, to the President of the Provincial Council of the Colony of New York, said:

"I take the liberty of sending the case of Jean Baptiste De Gas, a Canadian, submitting to the consideration of the Provincial Congress whether it would not be proper to furnish him with a necessary sum of money to enable him to proceed to Mr. Hancock to whom he has been recommended.

The Case of this Canadian was this: General Wooster employed Jean Baptiste Dagas, the 4th of January, 1776, as conductor and interpreter to the prisoners who were sent from Montreal to Albany. General Wooster advanced him no money, but he received from Lieutenant Cook, at Ticonderoga, twenty-two shillings, New York currency; that this is the only money he has received; that as General Montgomery had promised to recommend him to Congress for a commission in a regiment of Canadians, to be raised for the Continental service; and as General Wooster assured him that he had written in his favor to Mr. Hancock, he thought both his interest and his duty obliged him to proceed to Philadelphia in order to make application to the gentlemen of the Congress for their favour and protection; but at Poughkeepsie he fell sick, where, having no money, he was obliged to sell part of his clothes to pay his doctor and the expenses of his living." [Lee Papers 1—298.]

CONGRESS ORDERS PAYMENT FOR SERVICES OF CANADIANS WHO HAD AIDED THE COLONIES.

Saturday, August 10th, 1776.

The Committee on sundry Canadian petitioners, reported, That the Reverend Mr. Louis Lotbiniere was, on the 26th, of January last, appointed by General Arnold chaplain to the regiment under the command of Colonel James Livingston, and acted in the capacity, until the retreat of the army from Canada, and who was promised by General Arnold, the pay of £14 10 per month, including rations; and that there now is a balance of £46 17—144 84 90 dollars due and that the same ought to be paid to him and that he be continued a chaplain in the pay of the United States:

That Jean Fisseul receive nine months' pay as a private, and a present of 20 dollars for particular services the whole equal to 80 dollars and that he be permitted to inlist in the artillery at New York.

That Pierre du Calvert receive 106⅔ dollars for 8 months pay as ensign, and a commission as a brevet first lieutenant.

That Alexander du Clos receive 33⅓ dollars for 5 months' pay as a private and be discharged, with permission to inlist again in the service, at his election.

That Jean Baptist du Vidal receive 56 dollars for seven months' pay a serjeant and be discharged, or continued in the service at his election.

That Louis Russe receive 32 dollars for his services as nurse and attendant on the sick and a present of 40 dollars on account of his humanity to them.

That Juet a Voir receive a present of 10 dollars and be discharged, or continued in service, at his election.

That La Jeunesse receive a present of 40 dollars and be discharged.

That John Hamptrenk (Hamtramck) receive 186⅔ dollars as deputy commissary from the 15th of September to the 5th of February, and 164 dollars for his pay as a Captain from the 5 th February to this day, being 6 months and five days; the whole being 350 60–90 dollars.

That Andrew Pepin receive 33 30–90 dollars, for 5 months' pay as a private for his services as a volunteer, and that he be continued in pay as a lieutenant.

That all persons who have acted as volunteers in Canada, and retreated with the army be referred to General Schuyler, and that he be directed to enquire into their services and characters and to order them such rewards and wages as shall appear to have been merited.

That 300 dollars be advanced to Colonel James Livingston, and his general account against Congress be referred to the inspection and determination of General Schuyler.

JEAN LAUGEAY, MAKER OF ARTIFICIAL FIRE WORKS, OFFERS HIS SERVICES TO CONGRESS IN 1776 AND 1779.

The *Journal of Congress* for August 28th, 1776, records a petition from Jean Laugeay presented to Congress and read. The Petition stated:

To the Honorable The Continental Congress,

Honorable Sirs: Your Petitioner Jean Laugeay, French Man, has been brought up to the Art of Artificial Fire Works in France; an Art so necessary to make Signals and render lights, both to the Navies, and Armies in Camp, at the time of Night, as to be looked upon by most Nations in Europe as a considerable Branch of the Art of War; the Importunes [Importance] whereof being so little known in this part of the World, has induced the Petitioner to offer his Service to the Honorable the Continental Congress of America; to be employed by them in the Art of Fire works, and in such a Station as they may on enquiring into his Character and abilities judge him most capable of.

Should This Honourable House think proper to employ the Petitioner in Their service, he shall by every Means in his Power endeavor to discharge the Duty entrusted to him with every mark of Honesty and Fidelity. I am, Honorable Sirs, With the Utmost Duty & Respect,

Your most obedient and Most Humble Servant,

[Signed] JEAN LAUGEAY.

From the Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 42, IV folio 96,

That Jean Laugeay was engaged by Congress to display Fire Works at a July Fourth celebration is shown by his petition of 1779.

To His Excellency the President and the Hon'ble Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

May it please the Honorable Congress, Commemorating great and important Events has been an established Custom in all Nations, in all Ages.

The noble emulous Spirit it infuses and the happy Influence it generates in the minds of succeeding Generations often produce Ac-

tions that prove very beneficial to the People who practise it. Heaven certainly approves; for none but Tyrants wish to suppress it.

The glorious Emancipation of this happy Land, on the ever memorable fourth day of July, 1776, stands foremost in Magnitude and Admiration, in the Annals of the World.

That great and remarkable Era, the auspicious Harbinger of America, first usher'd in the pleasing prospect of securing Happiness to our latest posterity; and ought ever to be acknowledged with Gratitude as a celestial Blessing, and annually celebrated with effusive Joy by the inhabitants of the United States to the End of time.

Presuming with some degree of Confidence that it would be agreeable to the Honorable Congress, before whom I have had the Honor of exhibiting Fire Works on the like Occasion, I have got ready a large Collection of various sorts significantly designed, for part of the Celebration of the approaching Anniversary of our freedom and Independence. I therefore humbly pray that the Honorable Congress would be graciously pleased to signify their Approbation of my Design, by ordering me to exhibit the same on Monday Evening next, at such place as you may be pleased to appoint. Any directions the Honble Congress shall give relative to the Exhibition I will faithfully observe and execute.

I have the honor to be with the most profound Respect and Deference

Your Excellency's & your Honours much obliged and devoted Hble Servant

[Signed] JEAN LAUGEAY.
FIRE WORKER.

Philadelphia, July 1st, 1779.

From the Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 41, V. folio 208.

To his Excellency the President & the Honourable Members of Congress:

The Petition of Jean Laugeay, Fire Worker, Most respectfully & humbly sheweth, That on the evening of the Day appointed for celebrating the late Anniversary of the Freedom and Independence of the United States, your Petitioner had the honour to exhibit a large Collection of fireworks, which he had prepared for that Occasion.

That the Materials, Composition, & Exhibition were attended with considerable Expence and trouble.

That your Petitioner being a poor Man and having a family solely depending for support on what he can earn by his knowledge and Ingenuity in this Art, he takes the Liberty of applying to the Honorable Congress humbly begging that they would be pleased to give Orders for payment to your Petitioner of the Amount of the Expence he has been at on this occasion, or of such Sum as to the Honorable Congress may seem proper, And your Petitioner as in Gratitude bound, will ever pray for the prosperity and Happiness of the United States, &c.

[Signed] JEAN LAUGEAY.

Philadelphia, July 23d, 1779.

From the Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 42, IV. folio 204.

PLENIPOTENTIARIES FROM THE POPE AND THE PRETENDER TO CONGRESS.

"Extract of a letter from Philadelphia dated 26th instant:

"Last evening two persons who had landed at Baltimore with a large Retinue arrived in this city, escorted by some of the Light Horse: Lodgings were immediately provided for them and Centries placed at their Doors. You will easily conceive that the citizens were extremely anxious to know who these Personages were, and the Endeavours of Congress to keep their Characters Secret have like to have occasioned very serious consequences, and Congress seemed to have dreaded would arise from a Discovery, and which will very shortly arise if the Citizens adhere to what they publicly declared on its being made known who these gentlemen were; and I dare say you will be surprised when I tell you that one is a Plenipotentiary from the Pope and the other from the Pretender, with offers of Assistance Offensive and Defensive; on this being declared numbers cried out that they now only waited One from the Prince of Darkness to make the Alliance complete. Congress in order to appease the People gave out that they did not expect these gentry, and that an Alliance of this Nature has not been sought after. But I am well informed by a Gentleman who has had a sight of the Treaties formed with the French King that he guarantees the Assistance of these two Powers; the other follows of course. O poor Britain, you have now to fight against the French King, the Pope, Pretender and Congress."—[*N. Y. Gaz.*, Aug. 8, 1778.]

MICHAEL FITZGERALD "FROM THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND" PETITIONS CONGRESS TO GIVE HIM "A PART IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPRESSION AND TYRANNY."

To The Honourable the Congress, for the United States of America the Humble Address of Michael Fitzgerald Humbly Sheweth; that your Petitioner from the Kingdom of Ireland and last from Havre de grace, having been Cruelly and unjustly persecuted in his Native Country, by the present enemies of these States, is heartily willing to bear a part, in the present glorious Struggle Against Oppression and tyranny; and having served Seven years in a Military capacity in a foreign Kingdom, would request this Hon. Board to place him in Such a Situation as to have it in his power to merit a character among them, and Shew his talents in the Military line, as he did not think it necessary to bring recommendations from his friends, nor would they have Countenanced his coming over, at such a juncture; your Petitioner, for reasons which most strangers after expensive travelling may readily adduce, would begg to be taken notice of as soon as possible, and he promises, by a strict attention, to the duties of his Station, to endeavor to merit the esteem of his Superiors, and to look for advancement, only as his Character and Conduct may appear to deserve it.

With Humility and Defference, the Petitioner is buoyed with hopes This Honble Board, will take his case into their serious consideration, with that expedition that can be allowed an Humble Soldier waiting for Orders.

[Endorsed: Read September 2, 1776, Referred to the Board of War.]

Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 42, III folio 9.

The Board of War seems not to have reported on the Petition. Surely Michael Fitzgerald must have been given a Commission but alas, no records have been discovered showing this to be so, nor does any further reference to this seven years trained Soldier appear.

KING LOUIS XVI ORDERS THE TE DEUM SUNG IN THE CHURCHES OF FRANCE FOR THE VICTORY AT YORKTOWN.

KING'S LETTER TO HIS LORDSHIP, BISHOP OF NANCY.

MY DEAR LORD:—

The success of our armies flatters me as being a preparatory measure to peace. It is in this point of view, that I am glad to look at the result of this campaign. My navy, commanded by the Comte de Grasse, Lieutenant General after having defeated the English in the Antilles, and taken from them Tabago Island, went to Virginia sea-coast in order to oblige them to retire from this province. An English fleet came to attack him but was defeated and obliged to retire in its ports. At last an English army in Yorktown was attacked by our army united with American army under the leadership of General Washington, and Count Rochambeau General Lieutenant of my armies and it has been made captive. In looking at these events, and appreciating the skill of our generals and the valor of our soldiers, my principal aim is to excite in every heart as well as in mine, the deepest gratitude for the Giver of all prosperity. I write you this letter to inform you my intention is to have the "TE DEUM" sung in all the churches of your diocese with all the requisite ceremonies and that you invite to be present all who will find it convenient to attend. Hoping, Dear Lord, that my request will be granted, I pray God to have you under His holy protection.

LOUIS.

WRITTEN AT VERSAILLES, NOVEMBER 26, 1781.

TO MGR. THE BISHOP OF NANCY, COUNSELLOR OF CONSULTORS.

SEQUR.

[Translation from the original in Library of Congress.]

The English version given in the Pennsylvania Packet May 7, 1782, reads:

THE VICTORY AT YORKTOWN—KING LOUIS XVI ORDERS GENERAL ROCHAMBEAU TO HAVE THE TE DEUM SUNG.

M. THE COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU:

The success of my arms will never be pleasing to me, but as they furnish the means of obtaining a speedy peace. Under that hope, I review with pleasure the happy events of the campaign.

My naval force, commanded by the Comte Grasse, Lieutenant General, after having defeated that of the British near the Leeward Islands, and in their presence captured the island of Tobago, sailed afterwards for the coast of Virginia to compel them to evacuate that State: the enemy's fleet, which arrives on that coast to attack my naval force, is beaten and obliged to return into port; and, at length, a whole British army, shut up in the town of York, besieged by my troops, in conjunction with those of the United States of America, under the command of General Washington and yourself, have been forced to surrender themselves as prisoners of war.

In calling these events to the mind, and acknowledging how much the abilities of General Washington, your talents, those of the general officers employed under the orders of you both, and the valor of the troops, have rendered this campaign glorious. My chief design is to inspire the hearts of all as well as mine, with the deepest gratitude toward the Author of all prosperity, and in the intention of addressing my supplication to Him for a continuation of His Divine protection, I have written to the Archbishop and Bishop of my Kingdom to cause the TE DEUM to be sung in the churches of their Dioceses, and I address this letter to you to inform you that I desire it may be likewise sung in the town or camp where you may be with the corps of troops, the command of which has been entrusted to you, and that you would give orders that the ceremony be performed with all the public rejoicings used in similar cases, in which I beg of God to keep you in His Holy protection.

Done at Versailles, the 26th of Novemebr, 1781.

[Signed] LOUIS.

[Penna. Packet, May 7, 1782.]

CIRCULAR OF THE BISHOP OF NANCY, PRIMATE OF LORRAINE.

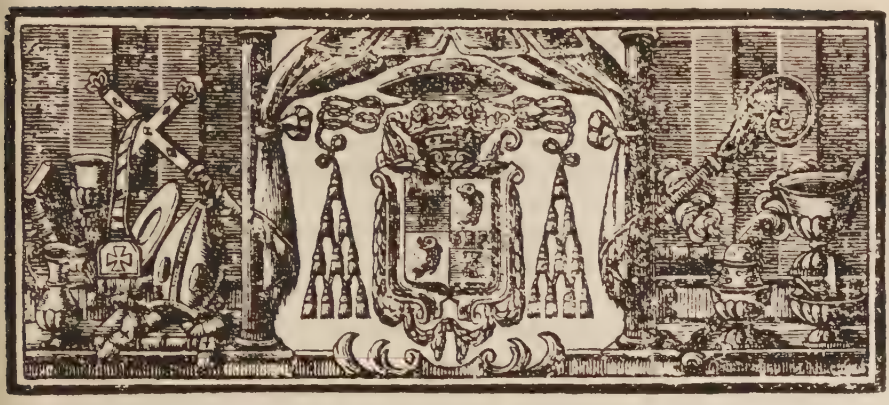
ORDERS THE TE DEUM FOR THE VICTORY AT YORKTOWN.

Orders that the "TE DEUM" *be sung in every Church of his diocese as Thanksgiving for the success and prosperity of the King's Armies in America.*

LOUIS-APPOLLINAIRE DE LA TOUR-DUPIN MONTAUBAU BY THE GRACE of God and the Authority of the Holy See first bishop of Nancy, primate of Lorraine, to the secular and regular clergy, to all the religious societies, to all the parishioners of our diocese, we wish salvation and benediction through our Lord.

My dear Brethren, a brilliant success in America has made the ability and the efficiency of our generals renowned and has rewarded the valor of our soldiers. Such an important advantage is the result of the most thoughtful plans It has been marked by good feeling and humanity and ranked higher than those memorable but bloody victories whose brilliancy was almost lost in a general mourning, but in this case the blood of our allies and compatriots has been spared. Moreover, we observe with great pleasure that the armies of our enemies have been weakened, their efforts frustrated and the result of their immense expenses has been made void; all this without a drop of blood lost on their part, and without desolating their country by making the wives of today, unhappy widows and unfortunate mothers of tomorrow. The happy events that we are requested to announce to you are worthy of our deepest gratitude towards the Giver of prosperity for whatever might be the wisdom of the plans, God is the supreme dispenser of events; He who desires to be called the God of armies is consequently the only One to give victory; He it is who gives courage to the conquerors and every Christian soldier must say with David, "Blessed be the Lord my God who guides my hands in the battle and my fingers to carry the sword."

Then you will thank God, dear Brethren, for the success of our armies; but there is another benefit more worthy of our joy, not on account of a transient event but to see a King who is flattered by the success of his armies only because it is a preparatory measure to peace; to see our beloved King, who far from abusing this victory, is not dazzled by the prosperity; this is a precious gift given by God.



MANDEMENT

DE MONSEIGNEUR

L'ÉVÊQUE DE NANCY,

PRIMAT DE LORRAINE,

QUI ordonne que le TE DEUM *ſera chanté dans toutes les Egliſes de ſon Dioceſe, en Actions de graces de la proſpérité des Armées du Roi en Amérique.*

LOUIS-APOLLINAIRE DE LA TOUR-DUPIN-MONTAUBAN, par la grace de Dieu & l'Autorité du St. Siege Apoſtolique, premier Evêque de Naney, Primat de Lorraine : Au Clergé Séculier & Régulier, aux Communautés ſoi-diſant exemptes & non-exemptes, & à tous les Fideles de notre Dioceſe, Salut & Bénédiction en notre Seigneur.

What a powerful consolation for the people who have to suffer the inevitable misfortunes of a war and to achieve the victory, to be assured that never again desire for glory will seduce our King and engage him in war. We must thank God for having given us a King who does not allow hatred and ambition to enter his mind, and whose concern only aims at giving joy and comfort to his subjects. Let us thank God once more dear Brethren, for He holds the hearts of kings in His hand, and has inspired our august monarch with such straightforward and peaceful intentions, that will give us happiness upon earth.

For this, after having held council with our Dean, and Canons and cathedral Chapter, we order that the "TE DEUM" the anthems "Domine salvum fac Regem:" the prayer for Peace and the Verses and Oremus, be said at the end of the Vespers, next Sunday, the 25th of December as thanksgiving for the success of the armies of His Majesty, the same will be sung on the feast of St. Stephen, December 26, in every parish of the city and suburbs of Nancy and the next Sunday that follows the receiving of our circular in all the churches of our diocese. This ceremony will be announced on the eve at six o'clock at night by the chime of all the bells of the city, which will be rung on the following day at noon and at four o'clock in the afternoon during the "TE DEUM."

This circular shall be read at the High Mass and in every religious Society. Given in Paris, in our palace, where we are kept by the affairs of our diocese—December 10, 1781.

[Signed] LOUIS APOL, BISHOP OF NANCY,
PRIMATE OF LORRAINE.

By MSGR. DUPUY.

Nancy. *Henri Hanri.* Printer to the King and to the Bishop. Rue St. Dijier (?) No. 337.

[Translation of original in Library of Congress.]

THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS AT MASS—TWO TE DEUMS AND TWO REQUIEMS, AT ST. MARY'S, PHILADELPHIA. WASHINGTON AT A CATHOLIC BURIAL SERVICE AT MORRISTOWN, NEW JERSEY.

The Continental Congress went to Mass on four occasions—two Te Deums and two Requiems. On each of these occasions the services took place at St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia. The Te Deums were—the Celebration of July 4, 1779, and the Te Deum for the Victory at Yorktown, November 4, 1781. The Requiems were on September 18, 1777, for General Du Coudray, a French officer, and on May 8, 1780, for Don Juan de Miralles, Spanish "Agent."

These events were, alternately, typical indeed, of the contest then going on—sorrow and rejoicing—Death and Victory.

THE REQUIEM FOR GENERAL DU COUDRAY.

1777.—In May, 1777 a body of twenty-nine officers and twelve Sergeants of artillery arrived in this country from France to assist the colonies. They came in consequence of an agreement relative to rank and pay made at Paris with Silas Deane, the Commercial and Political Agent of the United States.

Silas Deane, in a letter from Paris, November 28, 1776, to Committee of Congress said, "Mons. Du Coudey will be with you by the receipt of this, with stores complete for 30,000 men. The extraordinary exertions of this Gentleman and his Character entitle him to much from the United States, and I hope the sum I have stipulated with him for, will not be considered extravagant when you consider it is much less than is given in Europe."—[Pa. Magazine, July, 1887, p. 204.]

But our purpose is here, not to give a detailed account of the career of General Du Coudray, but to make record of the Requiem services on the occasion of his interment.

On September 16th, Du Coudray was drowned while crossing the ferry at Schuylkill river, Philadelphia, where the Market street bridge now crosses the river. He was on horseback on the ferry scow. The horse becoming frightened, jumped overboard.

The annexed extract from the journal of Jacob Hiltzheimer of Philadelphia, is of interest:

1777—September ,16th—Tuesday,—Cloudy and some rain. About 11 o'clock General *Coutrie* set off with nine French officers

towards the camp over Schuylkill; but he, the said French General, kept on his horse on the boat, crossing; his horse leaped overboard, and thereby drowned the General. In the evening I went to Schuylkill, and saw the said General taken up out of the water."

"In crossing the Schuylkill his horse leaped out of the boat with him, who was foolishly in the saddle—and so was drowned yesterday." (PAPERS OF GOV. LANGDON, Letter Jas. Lovell, M. C., to Gen. Whipple September, 17, 1777.)

On the 16th, September, 1777, Monsieur de Coudray, an officer of rank and distinction in the French service and acting as a volunteer in our army, having occasion to cross the Schuylkill ferry, rode a high-spirited horse into the boat, which taking fright leaped into the river and the rider was unfortunately drowned. Congress resolved that the corpse of Monsieur de Coudray be interred at the expense of the United States and with the honor of War.—*Thatcher's Military Journal Rev., p.* 117.

On September 17, 1777, Congress resolved:

WHEREAS, Mons. Du Coudray, Colonel-Brigadier in the service of His Most Christian Majesty, the King of France, and Commander-in-Chief of the artillery in the French Colonies of America, gallantly offered to join the American Army as a volunteer; but on his way thither, was most unfortunately drowned in attempting to cross the Schuylkill.

Resolved. That the corpse of Mons. Du Coudray be interred at the expense of the United States, and with the honors of war, and that the town Major carry this order into execution.

The next day, Congress adjourned to Lancaster as the British were likely to capture Philadelphia, "one of its last acts was to attend the funeral of Du Coudray, at St. Joseph's Church," says *Westcott's History* of Philadelphia.—[Sunday Dispatch, Chapter CCXLV].

In John William Wallace's "Biography of Colonel Wm. Bradford," there is much about this officer and his services in erecting the fortifications on the Delaware, in which Bradford himself took considerable part. The death by drowning of Du Coudray is spoken of, and Mr. Wallace says: "Congress passed resolutions of respect to his memory and he was buried in one of the two graveyards of St. Joseph's Church, with the honors of war, at the public expense."

This shows neither of these writers knew where General Du-Coudray was buried. It is wholly unlikely that he was interred in the ground near the old chapel of St. Joseph's. There really were not "two graveyards of St. Joseph's Church"—nor was there such a "church."

After its erection in 1763, St. Mary's was the *Church* of Philadelphia. In its graveyard, bought in 1758 for burials, it is most probable the General was buried and the Requiem Mass was celebrated in "New Chapel" of St. Mary's which was the parish church—the Sunday Church—the place used on all special occasions.

We know of no interments at the old Chapel ground other than priests after St. Mary's was built. As Father Harding was, however, buried at St. Mary's in 1772, it is more probable that Du Coudray was likewise interred there. In our mind there is no doubt of it.

But no matter where buried the location itself is unknown.

No account of the Requiem services or of the burial is now known. All was in confusion in Philadelphia at the time. The British Army was approaching. Congress hastily left the city on September 20th and the British took possession on the 27th. The career of this distinguished officer whose services for the freedom and independence of the country, though of a brief space of time—May to September, 1777—yet, were most helpful to the American "Rebels" will be more fully related hereafter.

A Dole For the Tories.

Published in London at early part of the American Revolution, contained this verse:

With Popery and Slavery
America they treat
And swear they will dragoon them all
If they will not submit.

(Copy in MS. Division, Library of Congress).

DON JUAN DE MIRALLES, THE SPANISH AGENT. HIS REQUIEM.

Early in 1778 Don Juan De Miralles from Havana arrived in Philadelphia. While here he was known as the Spanish Agent or Resident. He was not formally accredited to the Congress and Congress had no official relations with him. He was here, however, in the interest of the revolting Colonies.

"He came," says Bancroft (Vol. X, p. 157, ed. 1874) "as a spy and an intriguer; nevertheless, Congress with unsuspecting confidence welcomed him as the representative of an intended ally" though no official recognition was given.

John Gilmary Shea in Vol. 11, p. 165 (*His. Catholic Church*) says Spain "sent a representative to the American Congress in the person of Senor Miralles. Thus the first diplomatic circle at the American seat of government was Catholic and openly so, for these envoys (of France and Spain) celebrated great events in their own countries or in the United States by the solemn services of the Catholic Church, to which we find them inviting the members of Congress and the high officers of the Republic."

This is incorrect as applied to Miralles. He was not "sent" by Spain and Congress declined to have official relation with him, because not officially appointed to them. Nor did he ever invite Congress to attend any "solemn services of the Catholic Church." The French Minister, Luzerne, alone did that.

On April 24, 1778, Gerard de Rayneval, the French minister, presented to Congress the Memorial of De Miralles, dated the 21st, relative to two Spanish ships captured by American privateers and their cargoes condemned.

In Philadelphia Miralles lived at one time in Mr. Chew's house on Fourth street, below Walnut, east side. Then he removed to Capt. MacPherson's mansion, Mount Pleasant, which is still standing in Fairmount Park and is called, "THE DAIRY." There he remained until it was purchased by General Benedict Arnold, March 22d, 1779, as a marriage gift to Miss Peggy Shippen whom he married April 8, 1779. After Arnold's treason it was confiscated, October 1780, and rented to Baron Steuben.

Miralles the first year here lived on High street. After his death President Reed of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania

sent to Don Francisco Rendon, the Secretary of Don Miralles, a bill of rent. (Pa. Arch. 1781-3, p. 196).

Extracts from the Diary of the Moravian Congregation at Bethlehem, Pa.

1778, *Nov.* 25. "This afternoon the French Ambassador (Gerard), Don Juan de Miralles a Spaniard, and Silas Dean arrived from Philadelphia to see the sights here."

Nov. 26. "Bishop Ettwein took them to Christian's Spring and Nazareth (Moravian settlements north from Bethlehem), and in the evening they attended a concert we had arranged for them."

Nov. 28. "Our distinguished visitors returned to Philadelphia to-day."

Henry Laurens wrote to Bishop Ettwein. *Nov.* 23, 1778, saying:

"Monsr. Gerard, the Minister Plenipotentiary of France will be, provided he meets no obstruction on the Road, at Bethlehem on Wednesday, the 25th inst., about mid-day. His worthy character merits regard from all the Citizens of these States. An acquaintance with him will afford you satisfaction. Don Juan de Miralles a Spanish Gentleman highly recommended by the Governor of Havanna, will accompany Mr. Gerard. The whole suite may amount to six gentlemen and perhaps a servant to each."

Gerard visited Bethlehem again June 25, 1779.

In January 1779 Washington came to Philadelphia and remained two weeks. During his stay he was entertained by the distinguished citizens among whom is named "Mirales, a Spanish gentleman of distinction and amiable character."

The Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania requested Washington to allow his portrait to be taken by Charles Wilson Peale. This was done. De Miralles ordered five copies "four of which, we hear, are to be sent abroad" said the *Pennsylvania Packet*, February 4, 1779 [Moore's Diary of the Rev., p. 126.]

The original portrait was destroyed in September 1781, by loyalists who in the night, entered the Council chambers.

Though Bancroft calls Miralles "a spy and intriguer" he gives nothing to sustain the charge. De Miralles was evidently maintaining his private character until Spain could openly take the side of the colonists. John Jay was sent in 1779 as Minister to Spain and by his instruction of September 28, 1779, he was authorized to obtain

a subsidy and loan. During this time Miralles was promoting the interest of the colonies.

That Bancroft's judgment is too harsh, if not inaccurate, the opinion of Washington and the general respect in which the character of Miralles was held may be cited.

The following letter is from Washington:

To Don Diego Joseph Navarro, Governor of Havanna. Head-Quarters, Middlebrook, 4 March, 1779.

Sir:—A journey to Philadelphia in the winter procured me the honor of your Excellency's favor of the 11th of March last, by Don Juan Miralles, and the pleasure of that gentleman's acquaintance. His estimable qualities justify your recommendation, and concur with it to establish him in my esteem. I doubt not he will have informed you of the cordial and respectful sentiments, which he has experienced in this country. On my part, I shall always take pleasure in convincing him of the highest value I set upon his merit, and of the respect I bear to those who are so happy as to interest your Excellency's friendship. I can only express my gratitude for your polite offer of service, by entreating you to afford me opportunities of testifying my readiness to execute any commands with which you shall please to honor me. With my prayers for your health and happiness, I have the honor to be, &c. Washington's Writings, Vol. VI, p. 186-7.

"Don Juan Miralles was recommended by the Governor of Havanna, as a gentleman of fortune, who resided in that city, but who, while on a voyage to Spain, had been compelled by some accident, that happened to the ship in which he was embarked, to enter the harbour of Charleston, in South Carolina. The Governor wrote also that Don Juan Miralles, being dispirited by his misfortune at sea, had resolved to remain in the United States till he should find a safe opportunity to return to Spain, and requested in his behalf the civilities and protection of General Washington.

The truth is, however, that Miralles was an unofficial agent of the Spanish Government, and was introduced in this way, that he might obtain a knowledge of the affairs of the United States, and communicate it to the ministers of the Spanish Court. Spain was not yet ready to take an open and decided part; nor indeed was she ever ready to regard the American people as an independent nation,

till circumstances made it an imperious necessity." Washington's Writings, Vol. VI, Page 187 [*Note.*]

"Respecting the Spanish agent, Don Juan Miralles, it was uncertain how far he acted under immediate authority of the Spanish government. A letter from Luzerne to Vergennes throws some light on the subject. Luzerne wrote that Miralles confessed to him, that he had no instructions directly from the court of Spain; that his correspondence was with the Governor of Havana; that the Spanish ministry had signified their general approbation of his conduct down to the end of August last; that he had received from M. Galvez stating that he would be appointed Minister to the United States when the King should think proper to send one.

Congress showed every mark of respect to this agent which was due to his personal character but carefully avoided treating with him in any public capacity, except through the intervention of the French Minister. Congress would not commit themselves by treating with a person who was not empowered directly by the Spanish Court.

[MS. Letter from Luzerne to Vergennes, March 13th, 1780. Washington's Writings, Vol. VI, p. 478. *Note.*]

In April 1779, Miralles and Luzerne visited Washington, at Morristown, N. J., when the army was viewed by them. They left Philadelphia, April 27th, lodged at Trenton and next day arrived in camp. (Spark's *Letters*, Greene to Washington.]

C. W. Reale, F. Bailey and Edward Pole invited the President and Council of Pennsylvania to attend the celebration of July 4, 1779, at the German Church and requested that "you invite, if it shall seem proper to you, his Excellency, Don Juan de Miralles, a Spanish gentleman, resident in this city."—[Pa. Ar. X, p. 162.]

On the 27th of February, 1780, Washington wrote to Don Juan de Miralles from Headquarters at Morristown acknowledging receipt of letter of 18th, announcing the capture by Spain of the British Forts at Baton Rouge and Natchez.

Washington stated, "I shall with the greatest pleasure comply with your request for information of all movements of the enemy, that come to my knowledge which may in any manner interest the plans of your court." [Washington's Writings, Vol. VI, p. 477.]

[Morristown, 19th April, 1780.] The Chevalier de la Luzerne, minister of France, with another French gentleman and Don Juan de Miralles, a gentleman of distinction from Spain, arrived at head-

quarters, from Philadelphia, in company with his Excellency General Washington.—[*Thatcher's Journal, p.* 191.]

On the 25th the whole army was paraded under arms to afford M. de la Luzerne another opportunity of reviewing the troops; after which he was escorted a part of the way to Philadelphia. The Spanish gentleman remained dangerously sick of a pulmonic fever at headquarters, and on the 28th he expired.

29th April, 1780. I accompanied Doctor Schuyler to headquarters, to attend the funeral of M. de Miralles. The deceased was a gentleman of high rank in Spain, and had been about one year a resident with our Congress from the Spanish Court. The corpse was dressed in a rich state and exposed to public view as is customary in Europe. The coffin was most splendid and stately, lined throughout with fine cambric and covered on the outside with rich black velvet and ornamented in a superb manner. The top of the coffin was removed to display the pomp and grandeur with which the body was decorated. It was a splendid full dress, consisting of a scarlet suit, embroidered with rich gold lace, a three cornered gold-laced hat, and a genteel cued wig, white silk stockings, large diamond shoe and knee buckles, a profusion of diamond rings decorated the fingers and from a superb gold watch set with diamonds, several rich seals were suspended. His Excellency, General Washington, with several other general officers and members of Congress, attended the funeral solemnities and walked as chief mourners. The other officers of the army and numerous respectable citizens, formed a splendid procession extending about one mile. The pall-bearers were six field officers and the coffin was borne on the shoulders of four officers of the artillery in full uniform. Minute guns were fired during the procession, which greatly increased the solemnity of the occasion. A Spanish priest performed service at the grave in the Roman Catholic form. The coffin was inclosed in a box of plank, and all the profusion of pomp and grandeur were deposited in the silent grave in the common burying ground, near the Church at Morristown.

A guard is placed at the grave lest our soldiers should be tempted to dig for hidden treasure. It is understood that the corpse is to be removed to Philadelphia. This gentleman is said to have been in possession of an immense fortune, and has left to his three daughters in Spain, one hundred thousand pounds sterling each. Here we behold the end of all earthly riches, pomp and dignity. The ashes of

Don Miralles mingle with the remains of those who are clothed in humble shrouds, and whose career in life was marked with sordid poverty and wretchedness.—Dr. James Thatcher, Surgeon in the Revolutionary Army. *Journal, p.* 193.

His Secretary, Don Francisco Rendon, accompanied Rev. Seraphin Bandol, Chaplain of the French Minister, to Morristown and Miralles "received the last Sacraments with great piety and contrition." [Shea, 11, p. 178.]

On April 23d between six and seven in the evening De Miralles summoned Luzerne, Baron Steuben, Alexander Hamilton, *aid de camp* to Washington, Lieut. Col. Robert H. Harrison, Barbe de Marbois, Councillor in Parliament and secretary to Luzerne, to "his bedside" and in their presence dictated his will, which was written in French by Marbois. By it he directed that Don Francisco Rendon, his secretary, and Luzerne should take charge of all his papers and public correspondence as well with the Spanish Ministry as with the Governor of Havanna and Don Francisco was to consult with Luzerne as to his proceedings thereon. The remainder of the papers were to be burnt except receipts or papers necessary for his heirs.

He acknowledged owing Luzerne 3594 Livers Tournais for transactions between himself, Luzerne and Gerard. This he directed Robert Morris to pay. His accounts with Morris should be settled at amount Morris should claim. His affairs with George Meade & Co., "in the same manner agreeable to accounts they will furnish."

The Loan Office certificates taken in Charles Town Carolina in February and March, 1778, to be delivered by his heirs to whom they thought proper to collect interest due thereon.

The Loan Certificates for $26,600 dated February 1778, on which no interest had been paid to be disposed in the same manner.

He had a bill of Exchange for $140,650 drawn by General Lincoln on the President of Congress and accepted by the Board of Treasury. Had also a schooner sailed from Martinico which, by bad weather, put into Charleston loaded on his account with 40 hhds. of molasses, 20 hhds. of sugar. Mr. Peter Barrier was concerned in this, "for 10 per cent of which I made advances which is to be reimbursed." Cargo in hands of Daniel Hall & Co., of Charlestown had sent 140 hhds. of rice in said vessel to the Capes on his account. Had a half concern in brigantine Fox loaded by J. Dorsey & Co., of Baltimore with 91 hhds. of tobacco. Half of vessel and cargo "my sole property."

To each servant he gave a new coat. His Scotch boy, Angus, held for a term of years, was to be free at his death. His Negro Raphael, wife and children to be given their freedom at the Havanna and two cavalleries of land where his "wife and family think proper."

He ratified the will which he made at the Havanna, December, 1777, and approved the charges for fees and medicines which might be made by Dr. Cochran whom he directed to settle the fees of the other doctors who attended him.

The will was brought to Philadelphia and on May 4th presented for record with the certificate of Paul Fooks, interpreter to Congress and the State of Pennsylvania that the translation from the French was a true copy. Luzerne and Marbois certified as attending witnesses. Letters of administration were issued to Don Francisco and Robert Morris on May 5, 1780. (Will Book R. p. 283.)

"The remains of Don Juan de Miralles are to be interred this afternoon at Morristown. The funeral procession will move from headquarters between four and five o'clock. It is his Excellency's desire that all officers who can attend consistent with the safety and police of the camp should be invited to the funeral. He wishes to show all possible respects to the memory of a very respectable subject to the King of Spain."—[Col. Scammel to Gen. Irvine.] [Pa. Mag., April, 1891, p. 65.]

The remains were interred in the Presbyterian cemetery at Morristown and after the Revolutionary War removed to Spain it is said but more probably to Havana, where his wife remained.

Lafayette writing to Count Vergennes, the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Paris from "Waterbury on the Boston Road," May 6, 1780, said, "Don Juan de Miralles established for some time past at Philadelphia and who knows M. D'Arando, has died at Philadelphia (?). He has been buried with great ceremony.—[Stephen's Facsimilies, Nov. 1624.]

Luzerne was in Philadelphia, at the time of the death of Miralles. On April 29th, 1780, (the day after the death.) he wrote Washington saying:

"I have received with all gratitude the news which your Excellency has been plaesed to give me of Don Juan. I begin to flatter myself that the cares he received from you and all those who surround him will re-establish him."—(Spark's *Letters of Washington*, II, *p.* 442.)

Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, of New York, May 3, 1780, said, "It is reported from New Jersey, that the minute guns heard last Friday were in honor of Mons. Luzerne the person who succeeded Gerard, and passing under the appellation of the French Ambassador and that he died suddenly in the rebel camp in the mountains by the hand of violence; others say that the explosions were at the interment of another adventurer, called the Spanish Ambassador." [Moore's Diary of Revolution, Vo. 11, p. 267.]

The *New Jersey Gazette*, May 3d, 1780, said, "Friday last dide at Morristown, in New Jersey, Don Juan de Miralles, a Spanish gentleman of distinction. His corpse is to be removed to Philadelphia, where it is to be interred with those marks of respect due to gentlemen of his dignified rank and fortune."—[Moore's *Diary* of Revolution, Vo. 11, p. 267.]

Washington, to Don Diego Joseph Navarro, Governor of Cuba.

Morristown, 30 April, 1780.

SIR: I am extremely sorry to communicate to your Excellency, the painful intelligence of the death of Don Juan de Miralles. This unfortunate event happened at my quarters the day before yesterday, and his remains were yesterday interred with all the respect due to his character and merits. He did me the honor of a visit, in company with the Minister of France and was seized on the day of his arrival with a violent bilious complaint, which, after nine days' continuance, put a period to his life notwithstanding all the efforts of the most skilful physicians we were able to procure. Your Excellency will have the goodness to believe, that I took pleasure in performing every friendly office to him during his illness and that no care or attention, in our power, was omitted towards his comfort or restoration. I the more sincerely sympathize with you in the loss of so estimable a friend, and, ever since his residence with us, I have been happy in ranking him among the number of mine. It must, however, be some consolation to his connexions to know, that in this country he has been universally esteemed and will be universally regretted.

May I request the favor of your Excellency to present my respects to the lady and family of our deceased friend, and to assure them how much I participate in their affliction on this melancholy occasion.—[Washington's Writings, Vol. VII, p. 27.]

Madame Miralles is named, on July 2, 1780, as sponsor with Thomas Meade (of Montserrat), Thos. Russell and Elizabeth Ferguson for George, son of George and Constance Meade, born June 4, 1780. [Records Am. Cath. His. Soc. Vol. 11, p. 265.]

Luzerne arranged for a Mass of Requiem at St. Mary's Church. He issued invitations to the Members of Congress and distinguished citizens.

I copy from the original addressed to Dr. Benjamin Rush, now preserved in the Rush MSS. Department of the Ridgway Library.

"The French Minister has the honour to inform Dr. Rush that on Monday next, there will be in the Catholic Church a divine service for the rest of the soul of Don Juan de Miralles at 9 o'clock in the morning."

This invitation was endorsed by Dr. Rush, "Received May 6, 1780, but declined attending as not compatible with the principles of a Protestant."

May 6th was Saturday. So the Requiem Mass was on Monday, May 8th. The Chaplain of the French Minister was Abbe Bandol. Perhaps he celebrated Mass and delivered the funeral discourse also.

The invitation reads "in the Catholic Church." That was St. Mary's. It was *the* church of those days.

It is singular that no report of the services is mentioned in any of the Patriot journals and that to Rivington's *Royal Gazette* of New York, of May 20, 1780, are we indebted for an account for which allowance must be made for its style of narration. The reason of this was that after the French Alliance British adherents were zealous in endeavoring to disseminate a belief that Congress had become "Papist," that the success of the Revolutionary cause would mean the triumph of "Popery." On the other hand as the Patriots were, in 1774-5, bitter anti-Popery asserters they were, after the Alliance, not at all anxious that when they did a "Catholic" act in complaisance to the French Minister that it should become generally known to the people, for some, like the Shippen family, into which Arnold had married, had become less earnest in the cause. The French Alliance is given by Arnold as one of the justifications of his treason.

The account of the Requiem Mass as published by Rivington was copied by the London *Chronicle*, June 17-20, and by the Scot's Magazine of Edinburgh, June 1780, and perhaps by other British papers. The report reads thus:

"New York, May 20, 1780. On Monday the 4th inst., was celebrated at Philadelphia, the funeral of the Spanish Resident, who lately died at Morristown. The following was the order of the procession:

THE BIER COVERED WITH BLACK CLOTH,
MONS. LUCERNE, THE FRENCH RESIDENT
THE CONGRESS,
THE GENERAL OFFICERS,
THE CITIZENS.

When the procession arrived at the Roman Catholic Chapel, the Priest presented the Holy Water to Mons. Lucerne; who, after sprinkling himself presented it to Mr. Huntington, President of the Congress. The Calvinist paused a considerable time, near a minute; but at length his affection for the great and good ally conquered all scruples of conscience and he too besprinkled and sanctified himself with all the adroitness of a veteran Catholic, which his brethren of the Congress perceiving they all without hesitation followed the righteous example of their proselytized President. Before the company which were extremely numerous, left the Chapel, curiosity induced some persons to uncover the Bier; when, they were highly enraged at finding the whole a sham, there being no corpse under the cloth, the body of the Spanish gentleman having been several days before interred at Morristown. The Bier was surrounded with wax candles, and every member of this egregious Congress, now reconciled to the Popish Communion carried a taper in his hand."

The date given as the 4th is an error. It should have been the 8th.

This was the Mass the traitor Arnold attended a few months before his treachery. In his address to the officers and soldiers of the Continental Army, dated October 20, 1780, he says:

"Do you know that the eye which guides this pen, lately saw your mean and profligate Congress at Mass, for the soul of a Roman Catholic in Purgatory and participating in the rites of a Church, against whose anti-Christian corruptions your pious ancestors would have witnessed with their blood."

Arnold was at the time of the Mass a resident of Philadelphia and meditating his treason by seeking the command of West Point. He remained in the city until "the middle of July." He had, on April

8, 1779, married Margaret ["Peggy"] Shippen, who lived on Fourth Street (West side nearly opposite Willing's Alley, the entrance to the "Old Chapel" of St. Joseph's). between Walnut and Pruan Street, (formerly known as Shippen Street, then Pruan, and Prune and now Locust) not a square from St. Mary's.

Arnold on June 2, 1780, advertised a reward of $500 for his runaway negro, Punch, and a strayed cow.

Though the reward was Continental money it was but a few months later that Congress would have given many thousands for the capture of the runaway traitor.

That this Requiem was the occasion referred to by Arnold, when he "saw the mean and profligate Congress at Mass," is proven by the fact that after his marriage he was in the city until the middle of July 1780, during which time he was court-martialed and acquitted. He was seeking the command of West Point that he might betray it. On May 10th, only two days after the Requiem he wrote the Treasury Board, opposing certain decisions in his case and desiring to appeal to Congress.—(Washington's Writings, Vol. VI, p. 530.)

Ebenezer Hazard, a Philadelphian, writing to Rev. Jeremy Belknap, of Boston, from Jamaica Plains, June 27, 1780, says:

"At Philadelphia I met with the most striking instance of Catholicism I ever saw. A Spanish gentleman of Eminence, called Don Juan de Mirallez, died at Morristown, whither he accompanied the Minister of France, on a visit to General Washington and the Army. Soon after the Minister's return to Philadelphia, he (not the Spanish gentleman) sent cards to a number of gentlemen, informing them that, on such a day, "there would be a Divine Service at the Romish Church, for the rest of the soul of Don Juan de Merallez." As I had never seen even the inside of a Popish Church and the ceremony was to be performed on a Monday, I determined to attend and, upon going into the church, I found there not only Papists, but Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Quakers, &c. The two chaplains of Congress (one a Presbyterian and the other a Churchman) were amongst the rest. I confess I was pleased to find the minds of people so unfettered with the shackles of bigotry. The behaviour of the Papists in time of worship was very decent and solemn, vastly more so than among the generality of Protestants, there was not a smiling nor even disengaged countenance among them. Some of the Protestants behaved irreverently. The pageantry and pomp of Popery is admirably

calculated, *ad capitandum vulgus*; but it is to be lamented that human reason should be so weak, in any instance, as to prove an insufficient guard against such delusions."

How true, alas, it is yet, that "some of the Protestants behave irreverently" when visiting Catholic Churches.

Above the Altar in the Romish Chapel in Philadelphia, is the picture of a crucifixion, which appears to me a very fine piece of painting.—[Belknap Papers, pages 61 and 62. Mass. His. Soc. Col.]

This picture of the Crucifixion engaged the attention of John Adams, when, in company with Washington, they on October 9, 1774, when delegates to the Continental Congress, visited St. Mary's at Vespers. Adams at once wrote his wife Abagail:

"This afternoon, led by curiosity and good company, I strolled away to mother Church or rather grandmother Church; I mean the Romish Chapel.

I heard a good, short moral essay upon the duty of parents to their children, founded in justice and charity, to take care of their interests, temporal and spiritual. This afternoon's entertainment was to me most awful and affecting; the poor wretches fingering their beads, chanting Latin, not a word of which they understood; their *Pater Nosters and Ave Marias*; their holy water; their crossing themselves perpetually; their bowing to the name of Jesus whenever they heard it; their bowing and kneeling and genuflecting before the altar. The dress of the priest was rich white lace. His pulpit was velvet and gold. The altar-piece was very rich, little images and crucifixes about, wax candles lighted up. But how shall I describe the picture of our Saviour, in a frame of marble over the altar, at full length upon the cross in the agonies and the blood dripping and streaming from His wounds! The music, consisting of an organ and a choir of singers, went all the afternoon except sermon time, and the assembly chanted most sweetly and exquisitely. Here is everything which can lay hold of the eye, ear and imagination—everything which charm the simple and ignorant. I wonder how Luther ever broke the spell." [Page 45 of "Familiar Letters of John Adams to his wife, Abigail, during the Revolution." By Charles Francis Adams, New York: 1876.] See also his Diary. *Works* Vol. 11 p. 365.

The Requiem for Don Juan de Miralles was the "Example referred to by a correspondent of *The Royal Gazette* of December 11, 1782, who, writing from Fishkill, December 1, 1782, said:

"It is said many grow jealous of the French and its strange what pains some take to reconcile people's tempers to the French manners and even to their religion. What a noise was made but a few years ago about Popery being tolerated in Canada by the British Government. Would any one then have believed that even the Clergy and selectmen of Boston would parade through the streets after a Crucifix, and joined in a procession for praying a departed soul out of purgatory; and for this they gave the example of Congress and other American leaders on a former occasion at Philadelphia, some of whom in the height of their zeal went so far as to sprinkle themselves with what they call holy water.

And what a fuss and bother has been made on the news of the birth of a Dauphin of France; if a promised King of America had been born, there could not have been a greater outward rejoicing."

The correspondent may have on October 6th and 7th, 1781, seen Rev. Ferdinand Farmer, of Philadelphia, at Fishkill, bless the marriage of "a son of Joseph and Mary Ursula (Enbair) Chartier and Mary, daughter of James and Mary Frances (Chandron) Robinet, and Francis Guilmet and Mary Frances Chandron. [Records American Catholic Historical Society, Vol. 11, p. 305.] On October 5th, 6th, and 7th Father Farmer records 14 baptisms "of children and infants" as "near Fishkill" (ibid 274-5.)

No doubt there were Canadians of the encampment of the American army stationed there. In the winter of 1780 the Marquis de Chastellux visited Fishkill, December 21, 1780, and after relating about the encampment there relates that four or five miles inway in the woods was a camp of "some hundreds of invalid soldiers," but it was "their clothes were truly invalid. These honest fellows were not covered even with rags but their steady countenances and their arms in good order seemed to supply the defects of clothes and to display nothing but their courage and their patience. (Travels, Vol. 11.)

The following poetical extract refers to the Requiem at St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia.

"RIVINGTON'S REFLECTIONS."

(Rivington was publisher of the *Royal Gazette* in New York while the British were in possession. The "Reflections" were his assumed musings after the evacuation.)

In truth, I have need of a mansion of rest.
And *here* to remain might suit me the best;
Philadelphia in some things would answer as well,
(Some Tories are there and my paper might sell)
But then I should live amongst wrangling and strife.
And be forced to say *Credo* the rest of my life;
For their sudden conversion I'm much at a loss—
I am told they bow to the wood of the cross
And worship the reliques transported from Rome,
St. Peter's toe-nail and St. Anthony's comb.
If thus the true faith they no longer defend.
I scarcely can think where the madness will end
If the greatest among them submit to the Pope,
What reason have I for indulgence to hope?
If the Congress themselves to the chapel did pass,
Ye may swear that poor JEMMY would have to sing Mass

From "Poems of Philip Freneau, of New Jersey" (Monmouth, 1795.)

THE TE DEUM AT ST. MARY'S, PHILADELPHIA FOR THE VICTORY AT YORKTOWN.

On Sunday, November 4, 1781, a Mass of Thanksgiving was celebrated at St. Mary's church, Phialdelphia, to give public thanks to Almighty God, for the victory at Yorktown by the combined armies of the United States and France. Abbe Bandol delivered an "Address to Congress, Supreme Executive Council and the Assembly of Pennsylvania who were invited by His Excellency, the Minister of France, in thanksgiving for the capture of Lord Cornwallis."

The following is the discourse of the Abbe Bandol:

Gentlemen:—A numerous people assembled to render thanks to the Almighty for his mercies, is one of the most affecting objects, and worthy the attention of the Supreme Being. While camps resound with triumphal acclamations—while nations rejoice in victory and glory, the most honourable office a minister of the altars can fill is to be the organ by which public gratitude is conveyed to the Omnipotent.

Those miracles, which he once wrought for his chosen people, are renewed in our favour; and it would be equally ungrateful and impious not to acknowledge, that the event which lately confounded our enemies, and frustrated their designs, was the wonderful work of that God who guards your liberties.

And who but he could so combine the circumstances which led to success? We have seen our enemies push forward, amid perils almost innumerable, amid obstacles almost insurmountable, to the spot which was designed to witness their disgrace: yet they eagerly sought it, as their theatre of triumph!

Blind as they were, they bore hunger, thirst, and inclement skies, poured their blood in battle against brave republicans, and crossed immense regions to confine themselves in another Jericho, whose walls were fated to fall before another Joshua. It is he, whose voice commands the winds, the seas and seasons, who formed a junction on the same day, in the same hour, between a formidable fleet from the south, and an army rushing from the north, like an impetuous torrent. Who, but he, in whose hands are the hearts of men, could inspire the allied troops with the friendships, the confidence, the tenderness of brothers? How is it that two nations once divided, jealous, inimical, and nursed in reciprocal prejudices, are now become so closely united,

as to form but one? Worldlings would say, it is the wisdom, the virtue, and moderation of their chiefs; it is a great national interest which has performed this prodigy. They will say, that to the skill of the generals, to the courage of the troops, to the activity of the whole army, we must attribute this splendid success. Ah! they are ignorant, that the combining of so many fortunate circumstances, is an emanation from the all perfect mind; that courage, that skill, that activity, bear the sacred impression of him who is divine.

For how many favours have we not to thank him during the course of the present year? Your union, which was at first supported by justice alone, has been consolidated by your courage: and the knot, which ties you together, is become indissoluble, by the accession of all the states, and the unanimous voice of all the confederates. You present to the universe the noble sight of a society, which, founded in equality and justice, secures to the individuals who compose it, the utmost happiness which can be derived from human institutions. This advantage, which so many other nations have been unable to procure, even after ages of efforts and misery, is granted by divine providence to the United States; and its adorable decrees have marked the present moment for the completion of that memorable and happy revolution which has taken place in this extensive continent. While your counsel were thus acquiring new energy, rapid and multiplied successes have crowned your arms in the southern states.

We have seen the unfortunate citizens of these States forced from their peaceful abodes; after a long and cruel captivity, old men, women and children, thrown, without mercy, into a foreign country. Master of their lands and their slaves, amid his temporary affluence, a superb victor rejoiced in their distresses. But Philadelphia has witnessed their patience and fortitude; they have found there another home, and, though driven from their native soil they have blessed God that he has delivered them from their enemies, and conducted them to a country where every just and feeling man has stretched out the helping hand of benevolence. Heaven rewards their virtues. Three large States are once wrested from the foe. The rapacious soldier has been compelled to take refuge behind his ramparts; and oppression has been vanished like those phantoms which are dissipated by the morning ray.

On this solemn occasion, we might renew our thanks to the God

of battles, for the success he has granted to the arms of your allies, and your friends, by land and by sea, through the other parts of the globe. But let us not recall those events which too clearly prove how much the hearts of our enemies have been obdurated. Let us prostrate ourselves at the altar and implore the God of mercy to suspend his vengeance, to spare them in wrath, to inspire them with sentiments of justice and moderation, to terminate their obstinacy and error, and to ordain that your victories be followed by peace and tranquility. Let us beseech him to continue to shed on the councils of the king of your ally, that spirit of wisdom, of justice, and of courage, which has rendered his reign so glorious. Let us intreat him to maintain in each of the States that intelligence by which the United States are inspired. Let us return him thanks that a faction whose rebellion he has corrected, now deprived of support, is annihilated. Let us offer him pure hearts, unsoiled by private hatred or public dissention; and let us with one will and one voice, pour forth to the Lord that hymn of praise, by which Christians celebrate their gratitude and His glory.—[American Museum, p. 28-9, Vol. IV. July, 1788.)

"*Thatcher's Military Journal of the Revolution*, says of the service:

"The occasion was, in this hemisphere, singular and affecting; and the discourse itself is so elegant and animated in the French, so warm with those sentiments of piety and gratitude to our Divine Benefactor, in which good men of all countries accord, and so evidently dictated by the spirit of that new friendship and alliance from which such important advantages have been derived to the rights of America, as must give pleasure to every serious and candid friend to our glorious cause."

The Diary of Robert Morris, the Financier of the Revolution, now in the Library of Congress, under date of November 3, 1781, records:

"This day on the invitation of his Excellency, the Minister of France, I attended the Romish Church; a Te deum sang on account of the capture of Lord Cornwallis and his army (Pa. Mag., July, 1904, p. 280.)

This is the TE DEUM at which, Catholic historical writer and speakers declare, "Washington was present as well as Lafayette," as De Courcy—Shea, Dr. Murray and many others record, and at which "Washington, Lafayette and the Counts Rochambeau and De Grasse were present" according to Rev. Wm. F. Clarke S. J., in a discourse

at Old St. Joseph's, July 4, 1876, though he put the event as in "1780 after the surrender of Cornwallis."

The Centennial of the TE DEUM was commemorated at Old St. Joseph's, October 23, 1881, when Rev. Wm. F. Clarke, S. J., again delivered the discourse but said that "Washington and Lafayette were not present," but "both were on December 13th," following, or the day of general thanksgiving appointed by Congress. But this latter statement had, in 1883, to be modified by excluding "Lafayette" who was then in Boston and by supposing that Washington was at a service at St. Joseph's because he was in the city on December 13th, when there is no evidence of any special service in the Catholic Church of Philadelphia, whether it be called St. Joseph's or St. Mary's, or that Washington attended divine service anywhere on that day.

The historical truth is, that on Sunday, November 4, 1781, the Mass of Thanksgiving was offered at St. Mary's; that Congress and the prominent men then in the city were invited to attend and are therefore presumed to have generally accepted; that neither Washington and Lafayette or others of distinction in the army or navy were at the celebration, but were busy in Virginia; that Washington did not leave Yorktown until Monday, November 5th, the day after the TE DEUM that the romances about Washington and Lafayette having "crossed swords in front of St. Joseph's altar," and the poems and "historical accounts" that have been given of the event are all founded on the imagination.—The services took place in St. Mary's and not in St. Joseph's little chapel.

THE TE DEUM AT ST. MARY'S, PHILADELPHIA, JULY 4th, 1779.

Though the Continental Congress in 1774-5 declared the Roman Catholic Religion to be one "fraught with impious tenets" and one which had "deluged England in blood and dispersed impiety, bigotry, murder and rebellion, throughout every part of the world," [Address to the People of Great Britain] yet when the French Alliance was formed in the dark and sad days of Valley Forge, when nakedness and starvation threatened to destroy more than Britain's arms, could gain a change of sentiment and action became necessary and methods more complaisant to the French Minister essential. Then it was the Continental Congress again "went to Mass."

On July 11, 1778, Gerard, the first French Minister to the United States arrived in Philadelphia. The day before he had landed at Chester with Silas Deane, the American Commissioner to France. Deane delivered "the turf and twig" to Gerard as a token of mutual amity and assistance.

When the Fourth of July 1779, came near, Gerard arranged to have a religious commemoration of the day at St. Mary's Church.

Accordingly on July 2d, (Friday) he issued the following request to the members of Congress, the President and Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania and prominent gentlemen.

Vous etes prie de la part du Ministre Plenipotentiarie de France d' assister au TE DEUM qu'il fera chanter Dimanche 4 de ce Mois, á midi dans la Chapelle Catholique neuve pour celebrer l'Anniversaire de l' Independance des Etats Unis de l'Amerique.

A Philadelphie, le 2 Juillet, 1779.

(*Translation.*)

You are requested, on behalf of the Minister Plenipotentiary, to assist at the *Te Deum* which will be celebrated on Sunday, 4th of this month at noon, in the new Catholic chapel, to commemorate the anniversary of the Independence of the United States of America.

At Philadelphia, July 2d, 1779.

The original of this invitation can be seen at the Ridgway Branch of the Philadelphia Library, in the collection of papers belonging to Dr. Rush, signer of the Declaration of Independence. It is No. 15001.

The late Lloyd P. Smith, Librarian of the Library, made known

to us the existence of this invitation and it was first made public in THE I. C. B. U. JOURNAL of February 1st, 1884.

"The new Catholic chapel," was St. Mary's and so is proven, once for all, that that Church was the scene of all Revolutionary events history has assigned to the modern Old St. Joseph's—which had no distinct existence.

The Reverend Seraphin Bandol, Recollet, was the chaplain of the French Embassy. By a strange typographical error his name appears as Bando*t* on the copies of the discourse as printed by order of Congress.

The Pennsylvania Packet, July 10, 1779, reported the occurrence thus:

On Sunday last (being anniversary of the independence of America) his Excellency the President, and the honorable the members of Congress, attended divine worship in the forenoon in Christ Church, where an excellent sermon, suitable to the occasion, was preached by the Rev. Mr. White, rector of the Episcopal churches in this city, and one of the chaplains to Congress.

At noon the President and members of Congress, with the President and chief magistrates of this State, and a number of other gentleman and their ladies, went, by invitation from the honorable the Minister of France, to the Catholic chapel, where this great event was celebrated by a well-adapted discourse, pronounced by the Minister's chaplain, and a Te Deum, solemnly sung by a number of good voices, accompanied by the organ, and other kinds of music.

From the "United States Magazine," of 1779, page 313, is extracted the following:

The address of the Chaplain of his Excellency, the Minister of France, on Sunday, the Fourth of July, the anniversary of our Independence, at the new Catholic chapel, just before the *Te Deum* was performed on the occasion, when were present, agreeably to the invitation of the Minister, His Excellency, the President of the State, the Honorable, the Council officers, civil and military, and a number of the principal gentlemen and ladies of the city.

(*Translated from the French.*)

"*Gentlemen:*—We are assembled to celebrate the anniversary of that day which Providence had marked, in His eternal decrees, to become the epoch of liberty and independence to the thirteen United States of America.

"That Being whose almighty hand holds all existence beneath its dominion undoubtedly produces in the depths of His wisdom those great events which astonish the universe and of which the most presumptuous, though instrumental in accomplishing them, dare not attribute to themselves the merit. But the finger of God is still more peculiarly evident in that happy, that glorious revolution which calls forth this day's festivity. He hath struck the oppressors of a free people—free and peaceful, with the spirit of delusion which renders the wicked artificers of their own proper misfortunes. Permit me, my dear brethren, citizens of the United States, to address you on this occasion. It is that God, that all powerful God, who hath directed your steps; when you were without arms fought for you the sword of justice; who, when you were in adversity, poured into your hearts the spirit of courage, of wisdom, and fortitude, and who hath, at length, raised up for your support a youthful sovereign whose virtues bless and adorn a sensible, a fruitful and a generous nation.

"This nation has blended her interests with your interest and her sentiments with yours. She participates in all your joys, and this day unites her voice to yours at the foot of the altars of the eternal God to celebrate that glorious revolution which has placed the sons of America among the free and independent nations of the earth.

"We have nothing now to apprehend but the anger of heaven, or that the measure of our guilt should exceed His mercy. Let us then prostate ourselves at the feet of the immortal God, who holds the fate of Empires in His hands, and raises them up at His pleasure, or breaks them down to dust. Let us conjure Him to enlighten our enemies, and to dispose their hearts to enjoy that tranquility and happiness which the Revolution we now celebrate has established for a great part of the human race. Let us implore Him to conduct us by that way which His Providence has marked out for arriving at so desirable an end. Let us offer unto Him hearts imbued with sentiments of respect, consecrated by religion, humanity and patriotism. Never is the august ministry of His altars more acceptable to His Divine Majesty than when it lays at His feet homages, offerings and vows, so pure, so worthy the common offerings of mankind.

"God will not regret our joy, for He is the author of it; nor will he forget our prayers, for they ask but the fulfillment of the decrees He has manifested. Filled with this spirit, let us, in concert with each other, raise our hearts to the Eternal; let us implore His infinite mercy

to be pleased to enspire the rulers of both nations with the wisdom and force necessary to perfect what He hath begun. Let us, in a word, unite our voices to beseech Him to dispense His blessings upon the counsels and the arms of the allies and that we may soon enjoy the sweets of a peace which will soon cement the Union and establish the prosperity of the two empires.

"It is with this view that we shall cause that canticle to be performed, which the custom of the Catholic Church hath consecrated to be at once a testimonial of public joy, a thanksgiving for benefits received from heaven, and a prayer for the continuance of its mercies."

Rev. Jacob Duche, the Episcopalian traitor-Minister, who delivered the first Prayer in Congress in 1774, wrote in his Papnian Letters:

Letter of Papinian (N. Y. 1779) says, "The Congress and Rebel Legislature of Pennsylvania, have lately given the most public and unequivocal proof of their Countenance and good will to Popery. They have set an example which they unquestionably wish others to follow." [Then follows the *Packet's* account.]

"I shall leave you to make your own reflections at this most edifying exhibition. Charles I, was called a Papist for permitting his Queen who was bred a Roman Catholic, to attend Mass. What are we to think of the American Rulers who not only permit their wives to attend Mass, but attend it themselves in person and offer up their *devout* orisions in the language, service and worship of Rome.

Whatever may be the opinion of some to the contrary it is absolutely certain that on the part of many, the present is a *Religious War.—Letters of Papinian.* F 2420, Mercantile Library, Philadelphia.]

Gerard reported to the French government saying:

"It is the first ceremony of the kind in the thirteen States and it is thought that the eclat of it will have a beneficial effect on the Cathlics, many of whom are suspected of not being very much attached to the American cause. My Chaplain delivered a short address which has obtained general approbation, and which Congress has demanded for publication."

This was the first Fourth of July celebration by Catholics. Concerning it the gifted Philadelphia Poet, Miss Eleanor C. Donnelly, contributed this poem in commemoration.

THE FIRST CATHOLIC FOURTH OF JULY,

St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia, A. D., 1779.

BY ELEANOR C. DONNELLY.

'Twas in our Lady's old and hallowed fane,
A golden century ago, and more,—
Back in the shadow of a dread campaign,
Before we burst the last links of our chain,
In the Revolutionary days of yore—

High festival was held one summer morn,
To celebrate, with sacrifice and prayer,
The day whereon our liberty was born;
And cheer with sweetest song those hearts forlorn
That languished in the thraldom of despair.

An august throng was gathered at the Mass—
All Philadelphia's gallant sons and true;
As history uplifts her magic glass,
Along the solemn aisles we see them pass,
To crowd the nave and fill each narrow pew.

Here kneels Gerard, the French Ambassador,—
Our Congress there, our Council's President,
With the Supreme Executive, adore,
The Son of Mary—hark! that orator
Is Abbe Seraphia, the eloquent.*

In gold-wrought stole and surplice of fair lace,
The preacher from his velvet pulpit bends;
All eyes are centred on his grave, dark face,
The while he wins, with words of power and grace,
Alike both secret foes and loyal friends.

The open windows court the soft warm air,
The song of wild birds in the waving trees,
Faint murmurs from the fields, the Delaware,
And all the sounds that freight a summer breeze;
For much of rural loveliness lies spread
Around St. Mary's in these days, long-dead.

With myriad lights the lovely chancel glows,
  Flowers and incense scent the atmosphere;
Majestic music from the organ flows,
And voices, sweet as bells at evening's close,
  Ring out the glad *Te Deum* high and clear!

But o'er the altar, in its marble frame,
  A pictured Calvary* surmounts the shrine:
The pale Christ hangs upon His cross of shame,
  The blood drops falling from His wounds divine,
While Mother Mary, in the gloom below,
Hides in her veil her weight of wordless woe.

Oh! how the hearts of these old patriots swell
  With mingled tremors of delight and doubt!
Tho' grateful hopes their sinking hearts compel,
They dream, perchance, of freedom's funeral-knell,
  In fancy see the allies put to rout.

Throes of desire, yet dread uncertainty,
  Attend upon this festival sublime,
This consecration of our Liberty
By heaven's highest, holiest mystery,
  Upon an altar of the olden time.

The altar of our Queen. O sacred fires
  That deathless light St. Mary's temple gray!
O patriots at prayer! O sweet-voiced choirs!
Ye show us how our grand old Catholic sires
  First celebrated INDEPENDENCE DAY!

[By Permission.]

*John Adams mentions this picture in his "*Familiar Letters*" to his wife, as having been much impressed by it when he and George Washington attended Vespers at St. Mary's on Sunday afternoon, October 9, 1774.—*A. C. H. Researches.*

A DECLARATION ADDRESSED IN THE NAME OF THE KING OF FRANCE TO ALL THE ANCIENT FRENCH IN NORTH AMERICA.

The original document with the above title, was printed in French on board the *Languedoc*, for the Count d'Estaing, October 28, 1778. It was translated from the French, and published in the *Massachusetts Spy* at Worcester, Massachusetts, December 10, 1778.

The undersigned authorised by His Majesty, and thence cloathed with the noblest of titles, with that which effaces all others; charged in the name of the Father of his Country, and the beneficient protector of his subjects, to offer a support to those who were born to enjoy the blessings of his government—

To all his Countrymen in North America.

You were born French; you could never cease to be French. The late war, which was not declared but by the captivity of nearly all our seamen, and the principal advantages of which our common enemies entirely owed to the courage, the talents, and the numbers of the brave Americans, who are now fighting against them, has wrested from you, that which is most dear to all men, even the name of your country. To compel you to bear the arms of Parracides against it, must be the completion of misfortunes: With this you are now threatened: A new war may justly make you dread being obliged to submit to this most intolerable law of slavery, it has commenced like the last, by depredations upon the most valuable part of our trade. Too long already have a great number of unfortunate Frenchmen, been confined in American prisons. You hear their groans. The present war was declared by a message in March last from the King of Great Britain to both houses of Parliament; a most authentic act of the British sovereignty, announcing to all orders of the State, that to trade (with America) though without excluding others from the same right, was to offend; that frankly to avow such intention was to defy this sovereignty; that she would revenge it and defer this only to a more advantageous opportunity, when she might do it with more appearance of legality than in the last war:—For she declared that she had the right, the will, and the ability to revenge; and accordingly she demanded of parliament the supplies.

The calamities of a war thus proclaimed have been restrained and retarded as much as was possible, by a Monarch whose pacific

and disinterested views now reclaim the marks of your former attachment, only for your own happiness: Constrained to repel force by force, and multiplied hostilities by reprisals, which he has at last authorised, if necessity should carry his arms, or those of his allies into a country always dear to him, you have not to fear either burnings or devastations: And if gratitude, if the view of a flag always revered by those who have followed it, should recall to the banners of France, or of the United States, the Indians, who loved us, and have been loaded with presents by him, whom they also call their *Father;* never, no never shall they employ against you their too cruel methods of war. These they must renounce, or they will cease to be our friends.

It is not by menaces that we shall endeavour to avoid combating with our countrymen, nor shall we weaken this declaration by invectives against a great and brave nation, which we know how to respect, and hope to vanquish.

As a French gentleman, I need not to mention to those among you who were born such as well as myself, that there is but one august house in the universe, under which the French can be happy, and serve with pleasure; since its head, and those who are most nearly allied to him by blood, have been at all times, through a long line of monarchs, and are at this day more than ever delighted with bearing that very title which Henry IV regarded as the first of his own. I shall not excite your regrets for those qualifications, those marks of distinction, those decorations, which, in our matter of thinking, are precious treasures; but from which, by our common misfortunes, the American French, who have known so well how to deserve them are now precluded. These, I am bold to hope and to promise, their zeal will very soon procure to be diffused among them. They will merit them when they *dare to become the friends of our allies.*

I shall not ask the military companions of the Marquis of Levi; those who shared his glory, who admired his talents and genius for war, who loved his cordiality and frankness, the principal characteristics of our nobility, whether there be other names in other nations, among which they would be better pleased to place their own.

Can the Canadians, who saw the brave Montcalm fall in their defence, can they become the enemies of his nephews? Can they fight against their former leaders, and arm themselves against their kinsmen? At the bare mention of their names the weapons would fall out of their hands.

I shall not observe to the ministers of the altars, that their evangelic efforts will require the special protection of Providence, to prevent faith being diminished by example, by worldly interest, and by sovereigns whom force has imposed upon them, and whose political indulgence will be lessened proportionably as those sovereigns shall have less to fear. I shall not observe, that it is necessary for religion that those who preach it should form a body in the state; and that in Canada no other body would be more considered, or have more power to do good than that of the priests, taking a part in the government; since their respective conduct has merited the confidence of the people.

I shall not represent to that people, nor to all my countrymen in general, that a vast monarchy, having the same religion, the same manners, the same language, where they find kinsmen, old friends, and brethren, must be an inexhaustible source of commerce and wealth, more easily acquired and better secured, by their union with powerful neighbors, than with strangers of another hemisphere, among whom everything is different, and who, jealous and despotic sovereigns, would sooner or later treat them as a conquered people, and doubtless much worse than their late countrymen the Americans, who made them victorious. I shall not urge to a whole people that to JOIN with the United States is to secure their own happiness; since a whole people, when they acquire the right of thinking and acting for themselves, must know their own interest: But I will declare, and I now formally order in the name of His Majesty, who has authorized and commanded me to do it, that all his former subjects in North America, who shall no more acknowledge the supremacy of Great Britain, may depend upon his protection and support.

Done on board his Majesty's ship, the Languedoc, in the harbour of Boston, the twenty eighth day of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy eight. ESTAING.

BIGREL DE GRANDOLOS, *Secretary appointed by the King, to the Squadron commanded by the* Count D'Estaing. *Printed on board the Languedoc*, by P. P. Demauge, printer to the King and the Squadron.

[Mag. Am. His., November, 1889, by Henry T. Drowne from *The Spy* copy. His brother Rev. Dr. T. Stafford Browne having an original.]

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC REGIMENT.

Bancroft's *History of the United States*, volume X, page 175, says:

"While it was no longer possible for the Americans to keep up their army enlistments the British gained numerous recruits from immigrants. In Philadelphia Howe had formed a Regiment of Roman Catholics. With still better success Clinton courted the Irish. They had fled from the persecutions of inexorable landlords to a country which offered them freeholds. By flattering their nationality and their sense of importance attached to their numbers Clinton allured them to a combination directly averse to their own interests and raised for Lord Rawdon a large Regiment in which officers and men were exclusively Irish. Among them were nearly five hundred deserters from the American army."

This statement has been of concern to those interested in the Catholic and in the Irish element participating in the Revolution. It conveys to the mind a belief that as a Regiment consists of one thousand that that number of recruits was obtained by the British while in possession of Philadelphia for a distinctively titled and organized body of a thousand Catholic men of the City and vicinity who were willing to uphold England's cause and rally to her standard, upheld in the "Rebel" Capital by General Howe, and that his successor, Sir Henry Clinton, His Majesty's commander-in-chief not only raise "a large Regiment for Lord Rawdon," an Irish officer, but that of the great number enlisted "nearly five hundred were deserters from the American army," under Washington.

Were this all true as an exact statement or a correct inference drawn from it as it stands, it would little matter historically. Were it a fact to the extent declared and the belief impressed, it would not surpass the knowledge which events of our own times have brought to all—that England has ever used the Catholic name and the Irish sentiment to promote her own interests and has had a support, more or less powerful, from those moved by the name or the sentiment but yet not of those who are true and earnest believers or representatives of either. England has ever had Catholics and Irish to give help to her endeavors against others even to those battling for Liberty as the recent Boer War has given ample demonstration.

When England got into active trouble with her American Colonies, "the free Protestant Colonies," as they seem to have loved to

designate their character, she sought to keep the Catholics of Canada from being helpful to the malcontents, who soon became to her but "Rebels engaged in an unnatural rebellion against the Mother Country." She may be said to have succeeded by the powerful influence and the authority of the Clergy and nobles of that Country and by the open bigotry and insolence as well as the lack of sufficient military force of these "Rebels."

She, in Ireland, began to "ease up" on the Irish by relaxing or repealing penal laws and, in a short while, gave that Country such a measure of legislative power and authority that the brief period of its existence remains to Ireland to this day as an inspiration in her present day struggles for Home Rule.

It was ever thus with England. She would not omit the same course in America to arouse religious sensibilities and racial aspirations to serve her purpose. How far she succeeded will be briefly shown in this relation of the whole record. It passes all human belief that Catholics, as such or as a distinct body in the life of the Colonies or as individuals, could have "spontaneously, universally and energetically given their adhesion to the cause of America and when the time came to American Independence; that there was no faltering, no division; that every Catholic was a Whig; that in the list of Tories and Loyalists not a name of a Catholic can be found; that there were no Catholic Tories" as Dr. John Gilmary Shea asserted in "*Catholics and Catholicity in the Days of the American Revolution*" before the United States Catholic Historical Society of New York in 1885.

Is it possible for Catholics to be unanimous about any affair of human concern especially of a political character?

Hence there is no reason to expect that the "cause of America" received "universally and energetically" Catholic support. Catholics were divided as others were. Peace professing Quakers became warriors and even the Presbyterians though they more than other sects gave an almost unanimous support to the Cause of America and made it their own as against the Catholics, yet had Loyalists among them. It is not in human nature for Catholics, any more than others, to rush to the side of those denouncing them as the early Patriots did. We might as well have expected our fathers to have become allies of the Know Nothings or ourselves to have been coworkers with the recent A. P. A.

So the truth of the attitude of Catholics in the Revolution lies

between the statement of Dr. Shea and that of Mr. Bancroft. The surprising fact really is that any Catholics became "Rebels." Those who did well served though unknowingly the Church. Those who did not, though acting knowingly in doing so as being in obedience to the civil government which they had been taught, if resisted, brought damnation on their souls, were really but hindering the will of the Almighty who was but using the "Rebels" as instruments of His Divine Will to prepare for His Church a sanctuary of Freedom for it and his people of all tribes and nations. This was recognized by the Fathers of the Third Plenary Council when they advised.: "Catholic parents teach your children to take a special interest in the history of our own country.* * We must keep firm and solid the Liberties of our Country by keeping fresh the noble memories of the past."

When the British captured Philadelphia, September 1777, General Howe gave authority for the formation of three Regiments of Loyalists and appointed Colonels Allen, Chambers and Clifton as commanders.

When Howe took possession of Philadelphia there were found, on October 9th, 1777, a total of 21, 767 inhabitants although 10,000 had quitted the city just before the entry of the British Army.

This census taken under the direction of James Galloway, who had abandoned the American cause, showed the males under 18 years to number 4,941 and those over 18 and under 60 to be 4,482. There were 12,344 females. [Steven's *Facsimilie Documents* Vol. 24.]

From these 9,423 males in the city and the deserters from the American Army, first at White Marsh and later at Valley Forge, may have been the expectation of obtaining recruits for the three Loyalist Regiments authorized by General Howe, though the enumeration included male infants and youths. There were not over 5,000 eligible males to recruit from, and but a very small number of these were Catholics.

Captain Johann Heinrichs of the Hessian Jager Corps, Philadelphia, January 18th, 1778.

"Call it not an American Rebellion. It is nothing more nor less than an Irish-Scotch Presbyterian Rebellion. During the course of this winter we have organized two Regiments of Foot, one of which is wholly made up of Roman Catholics. [Pa., Mag, 1898, p. 141–3.]

In the *Journal* of Captain John Montresor, "Chief engineer of America" he records under date of November 15th, 1777, "Three Regiments of Provincials raising, viz. Allen's, Chalmer's and Clifton's. The latter as Roman Catholic.

One of these Regiments was called THE ROMAN CATHOLIC VOLUNTEERS. Its officers in 1778 as given in the "*List of General and Staff Officers* of the *Several Regiments serving in North America*," printed by James Rivington, New York, were:

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL, Alfred Clifton.

MAJOR, John Lynch.

CAPTAINS,–Keneth Mc Culloch, Mathias Hanley, Martin McEvoy, Nicholas Wuregan, John McKinnon.

LIEUTENANTS,–Peter Eck, John Connell, Edward Holland, James Hanrahan, Ebenezer Wilson, John O'Neil.

ENSIGNS,–John Grashune, Arthur Bailie, Thomas Quinn, Edward Gadwin.

CHAPLAIN, Frederick Farmer, [ought to have been Ferdinand Farmer, one of the pastors of St. Mary's.]

QUARTER MASTER., John Holland.

Though Father Farmer's name is given as CHAPLAIN, it is not probable that he accepted the position.

On March 2d, 1778, Father Farmer wrote to a priest in London: "Perhaps it will please you to hear that your British General on arriving here upon my waiting on him, proposed the raising of a Regiment of Roman Catholick Volunteers. Mr. Clifton, an English gentleman of an Irish mother, is the Lt. Col. and commanding of it. They desire me to be their Chaplain which embarrasseth me on account of my age and several other reasons." [WOODSTOCK LETTERS. Vol. XIV., p. 196.]

That this embarrassment had prevented his acceptance from September, 1777, to the date of his letter may be accepted as evidence that he did not do so in the three months later when, in June, 1778, the British evacuated the city. It was proper of course, for Father

Farmer to call on General Howe on his arrival but this courtesy it is evident did not require his acceptance of the Chaplaincy offered him nor is there evidence that he did accept in the brief period after his telling a fellow priest of the "desire" to have him act as Chaplain of these Loyalist Catholics

Up to this time Father Farmer had not taken the oath of allegiance to Pennsylvania. This he did, the following year, after the British had left, when he became a Trustee of the University of Pennsylvania. Father Molyneux was entitled, under the law, to serve as he was the "senior pastor of the Roman Catholics" but he was either averse to taking the oath or to serving as Trustee.

Dr. John Gilmary Shea in *Life of Archbishop Carroll*, p. 170, in his brief mention of this "Regiment" states that the officers of the REGIMENT were Protestants as British law did not permit Catholics to be military officers. This law applied only to the chief commands —General and Colonels. It may be noticed that Alfred Clifton was neither but was the LIEUTENANT COLONEL by title and rank though he was "commanding" the "REGIMENT of ROMAN CATHOLIC VOLUNTEERS"

"Our brethren may now serve in the army" was one of the reasons Pius VI had, for afterwards declaring the authority of George III, "as full of mildness to Catholics," and for which he was "the best of sovereigns" and for which this "beneficient monarch" had "shown his goodness" and towards whom he inculcated "obedience."—[Montor p. 474.]

England was in such straights that the enlistment of Catholics and the appointment of Catholics as officers was specially authorized. In December 1777, *The Royal Gazette* of New York announced 33,000 new troops were to be enlisted of which 5,000 were Irish Roman Catholics.

On March 21st, 1778, it announced; "The following Roman Catholic Regiments are to be raised in Ireland for the American service; two of foot of two battalions each, the command of which is given to Lords Kenmare and Cahar and a regiment of light horse to be commanded by George Gould Esq., of Cork. These gentlemen have engaged to raise their regiments by the first of April. The officers are to be Roman Catholics and the Colonels are to appoint them. Proper persons are said to be at work to raise subscriptions in Ireland for the purpose of recruiting men for service in America."

So General Howe was only doing in Philadelphia what British law authorized and under it the special recruiting of Roman Catholics was going on in Ireland as it was attempted in Philadelphia.

The organization of a distinctly ROMAN CATHOLIC REGIMENT in Philadelphia during British occupancy was in full accord with the policy of the government. The effort was made where the only chance of the most success was possible—in Pennsylvania under British control—where Catholics were the most numerous.

"Pennsylvania" wrote the Chevalier de Fleury to the French Minister 16th November, 1779, when he sent a "Summary of the Political and Military Conditions of America"—"Pennsylvaina is the province most infected with Loyalists. The Quakers, Methodists, Anglican and other sects which have a sort of affinity with monarchy are intestine but paralytic enemies."

Arthur Clifton—the commander of the ROMAN CATHOLIC REGIMENT was a Philadelphia Catholic. He lived in a large two story brick house on the east side of Second between Mulberry and Sassafras at Corner of Clifton Alley. It was one of the first to have lighted lamps placed before it at night. [Watson's *Annals*.] Mulberry St. is now called Arch and Sassafras is now known as Race Street. Clifton's Alley is now Drinker St.—so named after the Drinker family, Quakers, who occupied the property after the Cliftons.

William Clifton advertised this house for sale in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of November 26th, 1776. That was after the Declaration of Independence when many who had upheld the colonies became Loyalists.

The Clifton family owned also "THE CHERRY GARDEN" on Society Hill described in Watson's *Annals* [1—494] as "a large garden fronting on Front Street, *vis-a-vis* to Shippen Street occupying half the square and extending down to the River. It had an abundance of every shrubbery and greenhouse plant."

Alfred and William Clifton accepted British allegiance on the capture of Philadelphia. William was given an office for on November 1st, 1777, he advertised "hands to cut wood for the use of the army during the winter. Application to be made to him in Hickory Lane." [F. 394, Ridgway Library.]

Alfred was appointed by General Howe, Commander of THE ROMAN CATHOLIC VOLUNTEERS—to be.

On May 28th, 1778, Alfred and William Clifton were by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania proclaimed "traitors" and ordered to surrender before June 25th—an order of the "rebels" neither complied with. They fled with the evacuating British who left Philadelphia June 18th. Alfred Clifton is in Act of Attainder called "gentleman."

Sabine's *Loyalists* says Alfred Clifton was a "prominent member of his religious community." It errs however in stating "he resided in either Delaware or Maryland." His name appears on the baptismal or marriage registers at Old St. Joseph's on February 1st, 1773, August 9th, 1774, July 3d, 1775, August 12th and November 15th, 1777.

Sabine's *Loyalists* states further. "Clifton's success does not appear to have been great in inducing his Countrymen to bear arms on the side of the Crown."

Major John Lynch was also a Catholic. On Aug. 13th, 1777, about a month before the British took the city, his son John, born June 8th, was baptised. The male sponsor was Alfred Clifton. Thus they are proven to have been intimate friends. Mary Barrett was sponsor with Clifton. On May 27th following, (British still in city) Mary Barrett's son Edward, born in February, was baptised and John O'Neill [Lieutenant] was a sponsor.

The attempt to raise this Regiment says Dr Shea, was an "utter failure." True, but not wholly by reason of the Whiggery of the Catholics. The other Loyalist Regiments attempted by Howe were also "utter failures," inasmuch as they did not obtain sufficient recruits to constitute a Regiment and so, later, were merged after getting to New York.

General Howe, in his *Narrative*, appended to "*Observations on a Pamphlet*," (by James Galloway) pp. 51–3 says: That on his taking possession of Philadelphia, he appointed William Allen, Mr. Chambers and Mr. Clifton, the chief of the Roman Catholic persuasion of whom they were said to be many in Philadelphia as well as in the Rebel army serving against their inclinations" to "receive and form for service all the well affected that could be obtained. And what was the result? In May when I left America, Col. Allen had raised only 152, rank and file, Col. Chambers 336 and Col. Clifton 180."

So here were 180 "Catholic Tories" banded together as "well affected" towards British power.

The following transcripts of official proceedings while the British occupied Philadelphia show the continuance and discipline of the ROMAN CATHOLIC REGIMENT OR BATTALION as it came to be officially regarded:

"Court Martial at City Tavern April 19th, 1778, William Smith, private Soldier in the Provincial Corps of Roman Catholic Volunteers tryed by Court Martial for attempting to cross the Schuylkill with an intent to desert to the Rebels is found not guilty and therefore acquited. The Commander in chief confirms the above sentence." [KEMBLE PAPERS, Vol. 1 N. Y. His. Soc. Col. 1883, p. 570.]

"May 6th, 1778, Lieut. Col. Allen's and Lieut. Col. Clifton's Battalions are to be in readiness to embark at the upper Coal Yard to move with their field equipage and one week's provisions. Brig. Gen. Leslie is appointed to the Command of all the troops in the Jerseys." [*ibid* p. 577.]

This order was issued for the expedition which on May 7th under Major Maitland went up the Delaware to White Hill, one mile below Bordentown, and destroyed "twenty-one or more" American vessels there lying. This was done in retaliation for the destructive operations of Capt. John Barry in the lower Delaware while his vessel the *Effingham* of 28 guns was foe-bound at White Hill.

On May 16th, 1778, Patrick Mullen of the Roman Catholic Volunteers tried by Court Martial for desertion and attempting to cross the River Schuylkill in order to join the Rebel army is found guilty of Desertion and sentenced to receive one thousand lashes in the usual manner. The Commander-in-chief confirms the above sentence and orders Patrick Mullen to receive his punishment at the discretion of his commanding officer. It was inflicted on the Commons, now the City Hall Plaza.

Captain Montressor's *Journal* records on May 7, 1778 "Allen's and Clifton's Regiment of Provincials crossed over into the Jerseys to join the 55th and 63d Regiments posted opposite this City [Philadelphia] for the protection of the wood cutters."

General Howe was recalled and Sir Henry Clinton on May 24th, 1778 took his place.

On May 30th, Sir Henry Clinton, the new Commander ordered:

"No Corps to entertain Irish Recruits except the Queen's Rangers, the Roman Catholic Volunteers and the Volunteers of Ireland. [KEMBLE PAPERS.]

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

"Similarity of faith may have suggested the order says Charles Wilson Sloane. [*His Studies*, Oct, 1900.]

Racial affinity perhaps had also an influence.

The British evacuated Philadelphia June 18th, 1778.

On 21st the army was at Mt Holly, New Jersey, where Sir Henry Clinton, the successor of General Howe issued orders how the army would march next morning.

He mentions Col. Allen's Loyalist Corps and orders, "the remainder of the army will receive orders from Gen. Knyphausen."—the Hessian Commander.

By that it is probable that Col. Clifton's Roman Catholic Battalion was under command of Knyphausen. On June 23d, Knyphausen's 2d Corps was at Crosswicks, New Jersey, above Bordentown, New Jersey, with orders to march at 4 o'clock in the morning. On June 27th Knyphausen was at Freehold with orders to march at 3 o'clock next morning. The next day—Sunday 28th—was fought the Battle of Monmouth.

The daily movements of Knyphausen's Corps may be traced in Lieut. Krafft's *Journal* in N. Y. His. Soc. COLLECTIONS for 1882.

On Sunday June 28th Washington with his Valley Forge Army met the British fleeing to New York, at Monmouth.

There that hot June Sunday he fought and but for the treachery of General Charles Lee as is now known, he would, doubtless, have destroyed the British forces.

No wonder perhaps, that Washington swore, "a tremendous oath" when disaster had almost came upon him by the treason of his chief General.

Dr. Scopff, Surgeon of the Anspach, Beyreuth Troops stated in The Climate and Diseases of America During the Revolution (p. 12) "The Battle near Monmouth was remarkable from one circumstance which has not its parallel in the history of the New World; fifty-nine men fell on our side solely from the extraordinary heat and fatigue of the day and many of the rebels succumbed from the same cause. The heat continued from 90° to 96° for eight days.

Knyphausen protected the British baggage train of twelve miles from the assault of Washington's men.

The day after Monmouth's Battle, Sir Henry Clinton issued the following order:

Camp near Middletown, N. J., 29th June, 1778.

"The heavy artillery and baggage of the army will move to Middletown at 5 this afternoon under the escort of Clifton's and Allen's Corps and the New Jersey Volunteers. The rest of the army will move at Daybreak tomorrow morning. [Col. N. Y. His. Soc. 1883, p. 600. KEMBLE PAPERS.]

Colonel Stephen Kemble commander of 60th Foot Regiment. Sir Henry Clinton in his report of the Battle of Monmouth made to Lord George Germain from New York July 5th, 1778, says he evacuated Philadelphia at 3 o'clock on the morning of June 18th; that on the 23d the army crossed the bridge at Crosswick.

"One column under the command of His Excellency Lieut. General Knyphausen, halted near to Emlay's-town and as the provision train and heavy artillery were stationed in that division the other column under Lieut. General Earl Cornwallis took a position at Allen's town which covered the other encampment..... Encumbered as I was by an enormous provision train &c., to which impediment the probability of obstructions and length of my march obliged me to submit ..... I could only suppose that General Washington's views were directed against my baggage and in which part I was indeed vulnerable ..... The approach of the enemy's army being indicted I requested General Knyphausen to take the baggage of the whole army under the charge of his division consisting of the troops named in the margin." [Here he mentions Hessian Yagers, a brigade of Hessians, Pennsylvania Loyalists, West Jersey Volunteers and Maryland Loyalists.] "I desired General Knyphausen to move at break of day on 28th ..... I was convinced that our baggage was their object ... I sent for a brigade of British and the 19th light dragoons from General Knyphausen ... Our baggage had been intercepted by some of the enemy's light troops who were repulsed by the good dispositions made by General Knyphausen and Major Grant. I took advantage of the moonlight to rejoin General Knyphausen who had advanced to Nut Swamp near Middletown." [New York His. Soc. COLLECTIONS. LEE PAPERS Vol. 11. pp 463–5.]

Alexander Hamilton writing to Elias Boudinot said: "America owes a great deal to General Washington for this day's work. A general rout, dismay and disgrace would have attended the whole army in any other hands but his. By his own good sense and forti-

tude he turned the day. He brought order out of confusion, animated his troops and led them to success."

He related the actions of General Charles Lee. "This man is either a driveler in the business of soldieringship or something much worse." [It is now known he was "something much worse."]

"I can hardly persuade myself to be in good humor with success so far inferior to what we in all probability should have had not the finest opportunity America ever possessed been fooled away by a man in whom she has placed a large share of the most ill-judged confidence."

Eighty years afterwards, in 1860, the treachery of General Lee was proven to the world. Moore's TREASON OF LEE—has abundant proof in Lee's hand to link the names of Arnold and Lee in eternal infamy.

Again was it manifested that "Heaven was determined to save the Country" as the, almost traitor Conway declared when conspiring at Valley Forge to oust Washington from command.

The Battle of Monmouth also proved that Washington was not "a weak General" and had no "bad counsellors" as Conway wrote his fellow caballer Gates.

Lord Cornwallis commanded the left wing of the army encamped near Monmouth Court House. The right wing under General Knyphausen lay beyond the Court House in the road to Middletown. It was 8,000 strong and convoyed the immense baggage train.

During the Battle on Sunday in 96° in any shade to be had, Knyphausen made haste to Middletown and encamped on its heights. At day break on Monday General Clinton joined him having escaped an intended movement on both flanks by Washington.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC BATTALION thus appears to have been at Monmouth under the Hessian Knyphausen and with the Hessian troops.

The British Army, worsted but not destroyed at Monmouth, succeeded in getting to New York at the beginning of July 1778.

Beatson's *Memoirs Naval and Military*, Vol. VI, p. 205, states that General Knyphausen commanded "the Provincial Corps" on their entry into New York.

That THE ROMAN CATHOLIC BATTALION existed at New York as a distinct organization appears from the following advertisement:

FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF ALL
GENTLEMEN VOLUNTEERS,
WHO ARE WILLING TO SERVE HIS MAJESTY'S REGT. OF
ROMAN CATHOLIC VOLUNTEERS
COMMANDED BY
LIEUT. COL. COMMANDANT,
ALFRED CLIFTON
During the present wanton and unnatural Rebellion
AND NO LONGER
THE SUM OF FOUR POUNDS
WILL BE GIVEN ABOVE THE USUAL BOUNTY,
A SUIT OF NEW CLOATHS
And every other necessary to complete a Gentleman Soldier.
Those who are willing to show their attachment to their King and Country by engaging in the above regiment, will call at Captain McKinnon, at No. 51, in Cherry—Street, near the Ship Yards, or at Major John Lynch, encamped at Yellow Hook, where they will receive present pay and good quarters.
N. B. Any person bringing a well bodied loyal subject to either of the above places shall receive ONE GUINEA for his trouble.
GOD SAVE THE KING.

(*N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury* July 13th and 20th, 1778.

In the manuscript Orderly Book of Captain Robert Clayton of the 17th Foot Regiment of the British Army for 1777–8 now at the Pennsylvania Historical Society, under date of "Headquarters, New York, 26th October, 1778, has this entry:

"Captain John McKinnon of his Majesties Battln of Roman Catholic Volunteers tryed by the General Court Martial of which Lt. Col. Ludlow is President for ungentlemanly like behavior: 1st. plundering in the Jerseys: secondly by suffering himself to be kicked by Captain McAvoy, of the same Corps on a parade without properly resenting it is found guilty & sentenced to be dismissed his Majesties service.

The Commander-in-chief confirms ye above sentence.

Captain Martin McAvoy of the Roman Catholic Volunteers tryed by ye above Court Martial for plundering in ye Jerseys in taking

horse and cow & behaving indecently on the parade is found guilty and sentenced to be dismissed from his Majesties service.

The Commander-in-chief confirmed ye above sentence."

Captain McKinnon may have been the former Lieutenant of the 76th Highland Regiment appointed December 12th, 1777, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel John Macdonnel. These Highlanders may be counted as Catholics.

At the date of the confirmation of these sentences the ROMAN CATHOLIC REGIMENT had no existence as its few men had been merged into the VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND.

Sir Henry Clinton in reporting to Lord George Germain, in response to his advice of March 8th, 1778, to endeavor "to draw over from the Rebels the Europeans in their service" related the organization of THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND stated: "The advantages attending this Corps led me to strengthen it with near eighty men from the Regiment of ROMAN CATHOLIC VOLUNTEERS which from the inattention of the officers to the terms of their warrant and their utter disregard of all discipline, I found it necessary to reduce."

That ended THE ROMAN CATHOLIC VOLUNTEERS. The "Regiment," by name, which Bancroft states had been "formed" never exceeded one hundred and eighty men and at its reduction in October 1778, numbered but "near eighty men."

Its officers at this time as given in the *List of General and Staff Officers* for 1779 page 64, where it is recorded as the LATE ROMAN CATHOLIC VOLUNTEERS were:

Lieutenant Colonel—Alfred Clifton.

Major—John Lynch.

Captain—Mathias Hanely, Nicholas Wiergan, Thomas Silverton.

Lieutenant—John Peter Eck, John O'Neil, Patrick Kane,

Quarter Master—John Newlan.

It will be noticed that Captain McCullock, of 1778, had been replaced by Captain Silverton; McKinnon and McAvoy had been dismissed in disgrace. Captains Hanley or Hanely and Wuregan or Wiergan remained.

Lieutenants Eck, and O'Neil of 1778 alone remained at the merging of the "eighty men" into THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND.

Father Farmer's name does not appear as Chaplain.

Lieutenant Patrick Kane the only new Lieutenant did not stay with THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND. It is probable he deserted as

he returned to Philadelphia and must have given a fairly satisfactory reason for doing so. The record made in the *Pennsylvania Archives* for 1779 reads:

"The town major brought before the Council Patrick Keane, Lieut. of the Roman Catholic Regiment of Volunteers in the British service and he being examined it was ordered that Col. Nichola be desired to closely observe the conduct of Lieutenant Keane."

Keane may have shown the Council of Safety that he had abandoned England's cause, and thus was permitted to remain in Philadelphia under the eye of the Marshal.

What became of Lieutenant Colonel Alfred Clifton commander of THE ROMAN CATHOLIC VOLUNTEERS? He was commandant at the reduction, October 1778, but what later became of him years of diligent and special search have not revealed. The *Army Lists* do not show his transfer to other Regiment, his name has not been discovered among the United Empire Loyalists Colonists of Canada, composed of the 25,000 Loyalists who went there during and after the war; nor has it been found among the number of Loyalists who in England or elsewhere made claim for compensation for losses or for services.

Nothing further is known of Major John Lynch or of the other officers save Lieutenant Kane. Lieutenant Eck, doubtless, was of the well known Catholic family some of whose descendants are now in Philadelphia.

Many may to-day be disposed to censure these officers and men for giving support to England, but we see the situation differently now. They had known, and perhaps felt, the anti-Catholic howlings of the Patriots in the early days of the Revolt, may have accepted in its fullest sense and in obedience the teaching of their religious instructors that England was the authority to which their civil allegiance was due; that they but wrecked their spiritual welfare by endeavoring to overthrow it when, in accord with these teachings, as given even in our own day, there was not a reasonable hope of success in so striving.

Bishop James Butler, whose Catechism American youth, until a few years ago, taught Catholic American children, being taught the history of the Revolution of their own country, that resistance to the powers that be brought damnation, during the Revolutionary War "preached loyalty" and, said he, "in 1778, we preached it when every

sinew of the disabled and distracted British army was enfeebled by a long struggle for the sovereignty of America." [Renahan's *Coll. Irish Ch.* 1–353.]

Father Arthur O'Leary in 1777 issued "An Address to the Common People of the Roman Catholic Religion" when it was feared the French would invade Ireland and if 30,000 came "Protestants would make up half of the number" and in that event "every Catholic who possessed a feather bed would join his Protestant neighbors in their mutual defense, that any that of those who would aid the French "those who would be strung up after the war and give the occasion for charging the whole body of Roman Catholics with the treachery of its rotten members." But above all, save your souls, which would be lost without recourse, for among the crimes that exclude from the Kingdom of Heaven, St. Paul reckons "Sedition and what greater sedition than to rise up against your King and country and to defile your hands with the blood of your fellow subjects?"

But we now know Father O'Leary was in the pay of the British government for keeping the Irish loyal.

At all events a study of the Revolution will undoubtedly lessen an almost natural antipathy to those who were Loyalists and cause their course to be viewed without passion or resentment.

As the remnant of the alleged "Regiment" had dwindled to "near eighty men" and these, almost disgraced by the conduct of their officers, had been merged with THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND, without doubt, mainly if not wholly, composed of Irish Catholics by nativity or descent a brief relation of the formation and career of this REGIMENT may properly come within the scope of this work in its recital of CATHOLICS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION and as a proper sequel to the recital of the record of THE ROMAN CATHOLIC REGIMENT.

THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND.

Bancroft's *History of the United States* says:

"The cause of the United States was the cause of Ireland. Yet such is the sad complication in human nature that the people who of all others should have been found taking part with America sent some of their best troops and their ablest men to take the field against the defenders of their own rights. Irishmen fought in the British ranks at Eutaw. (X—494.)

In Philadelphia, Howe had formed a regiment of Roman Catholics. With still better success Clinton courted the Irish. They had fled from the persecutions of inexorable landlords to a country which offered them freeholds. By flattering their nationality and their sense of importance attached to their numbers Clinton allured them to a combination directly averse to their own interests and raised for Lord Rawdon a large regiment in which officers and men were exclusively Irish. Among them were nearly five hundred deserters from the American army. (Bancroft's *His. U. S.* X p. 175.)

After the British took possession of Philadelphia, September 20th, 1777, the formation of three Regiments of Provincial Loyalists was ordered by General Howe. The endeavor had but a limited success, as but 668 recruits were secured for the three. During this time Washington's army was at Valley Forge. Desertions were frequent, largely of those not natives of the country. The situation of affairs at Valley Forge and the condition of the deserters is thus set forth by the British organ, the *Pennsylvania Post*, of January 3d, 1778.

The numbers of deserters that have been coming for some time past, is astonishing, some who have been forced to take up arms, others who had voluntarily entered into the rebellion, but, tired of the tyranny of their leaders, have again returned to this city, and to enjoy the sweets of liberty and good government. The accounts they gave of the rebel army must make the most hardened heart feel for them, without shoes, stockings or indeed, clothing of any kind; sick and in want of every kind of medicine, care and nourishment; they are ready to perish, yet such is the hardened obstinacy of their leaders, that with the most cruel vigor, they endeavor to keep them together and would suffer them to perish by piece-meal rather than fail in their selfish ambitious views.

It is a fact that the officers and privates of dragoons upon the Irish establishment have voluntarily offered to serve in America as infantry, and upon common pay, until the present unnatural rebellion shall be quelled. And Lord Bellamont and Moiva, with several other noblemen are raising ten Roman Catholic battalions, of one thousand men, each at their own expense, to serve in America during the present rebellion.

"Deserters always had their arms and which they were allowed to dispose of; they were almost naked and generally without shoes—an old dirty blanket around them, attached by a leather belt around the waist. They were led off to the Superintendent (Galloway) and officers of the new Corps were generally on the lookout to get them to enlist." [Watson's *Annals*, 11 p. 287.]

Thus, mainly, were the 668 recruits obtained, while the numbers of natives of Ireland who were received by Galloway as deserters from Washington's army and the River Galleys numbered 649. So we might as well count all the deserters as entering either Allen's, Chambers' or Clifton's ROMAN CATHOLIC REGIMENTS or Rawdon's VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND.

Joseph Galloway, who had been speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, accepted British allegiance and was by General Howe, appointed Superintendent of the City. Of the deserters from Washington's army brought to him, he took down the names and places of nativity. It is his testimony which is relied on to sustain the statement that one-half of Washington's army were natives of Ireland. In his examination before a Committee of the House of Commission 1780, when asked the nativity of the deserters said he could answer with "precision" as he had kept the records. From these he "judged" one-half were Irish. His recollection was not quite accurate, however, as the following document No. 2094 in Volume 24 of Sheven's *Facsimilie Documents Relating to America* 1773–1783 shows that he made this report to the Earl of Dartmouth:

"AN ACCOUNT OF THE NUMBER OF DESERTED SOLDIERS, AND GALLEYMEN OF THE REBEL ARMY AND FLEET WHO HAVE COME INTO PHILADELPHIA & TAKEN THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE WITH A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE PLACES IN WHICH THEY WERE BORN."

Philadelphia, March 25th, 1778.

Total Soldiers to this day—1134. Of which were born in England 206; in Scotland 56; in Ireland 492; in Germany 88; in America 283; in Canada 4; in France 5.

Total Galleymen to this day—354. Of whom were born in England 69; in Scotland 22; in Ireland 157; in Germany 16; in America 65; in France 15.

This shows the whole number of deserters 1488 of whom 649 were Irish.

Document No. 2078 is a letter of Galloway to the Earl of Dartmouth. It is dated January 27th, 1778—during British occupancy of Philadelphia. In it he says: "As a proof the aversion of the natives of America to the present rebellion the rebels are not one in ten of their whole army who are not either English, Scotch or Irish but by far the greater number of Irish."

On the 4th of March 1778, he wrote to the Earl. (See Document No. 2090.)

"From the beginning there has been a reluctance in the natives in America to enter into the regular service of the Rebellion. They have been forced out in the militia by heavy fines for a few month's only. The English, Scotch and Irish by far the most part of the latter have principally composed the rebel regular army."

Joseph Pell, Jr., an officer in the British army., 1776–7 states: He recorded: "the rebels consisted chiefly of Irish redemptioners and convicts, the most audacious rascals existing." [*Mag. Am. His.* Jan. 1878.]

Ambrose Serle writing to the Earl of Dartmouth from New York, 25th September 1776, said: "Great numbers of emigrants particularly Irish are in the Rebel army, some by choice and many for mere subsistance." Steven's *Documents* Vol. 24, No. 2043.)

So if the Irish were such a large part of the rebel Army as the British claimed, they were entitled without special dishonor, to the greater proportion of the desertions. But the purpose of all such testimony was to cause it to be believed that the natives of America were not the rebellious, that they were content but that the Irish, the "Europeans" who had no stake in the country were the rebellious. But our purpose now is not to enter upon the consideration of this matter further than as a preliminary to account for the formation of the VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND Regiment by the British and into which

were merged "near eighty men" of the ROMAN CATHOLIC VOLUNTEERS. It is the CATHOLIC feature of the Revolution and not solely the IRISH, we have in view.

The annexed documents are taken from Steven's *Fac Similie Documents.*

On March 8, 1778, Lord George Germain wrote Gen. Sir Henry Clinton, commander of the British forces in America:

"I think it proper also to suggest to you the great advantages which must follow from drawing over from the Rebels the Europeans in their service. Especial encouragement should be held out to them to desert, and join the King's forces, whether they bring their arms or come without them; and all apprentices and indented servants who desert us, should be assured that when the war is over attention will be given to their circumstances, and that their Loyalty will not be suffered to go unrewarded."

Here is the reply of Gen. Clinton—

NEW YORK, October 23, 1778.

MY LORD—

In your Lordship's instructions to me dated the 8th of March, I find myself directed to try all means which should appear to me likely to draw off from the American Army the number of Europeans which constituted its principal Force.

It was difficult to hold forth terms of sufficient advantage to excite those people to Defection from the Rebels, without giving cause of dissatisfaction to such of the natives of the country as had, uninvited by reward, manifested their attachment to their King by taking up arms in the first Provincial Corps that were formed.

The Emigrants from Ireland were in general to be looked upon as our most serious antagonists. They had fled from the real or fancied oppression of their Landlords. Thro' dread of prosecution of the riots which their idea of that oppression had occassioned, they had transplanted themselves into a country where they could live without oppression and had estranged themselves from all solicitude of the welfare of Britain. From their numbers, however, national customs were kept up amongst them, and the pride of having sprung in the old country notwithstanding the connection of interests, prevented them from entirely assimilating with the Americans. To work upon these latent seed of national attachment appears to me

the only means of inciting these refugees to a measure, contrary perhaps to the particular interests of most of them. On this ground I formed the plan of raising a regiment, whose officers as well as men should be entirely Irish. Lord Rawdon being the person of that nation of this army whose situation pointed him out the most strongly for the command, I placed him at the head of the corps. He was flattered with the preference, and, happy in contributing to the public service, undetook it with zeal. Great pains have been taken to propagate the advertisement of this new establishment among the enemy and they have not been unsuccessful. Under many disadvantages of situation above 380 deserters from the Rebel army have been collected, and are now in arms in that regiment contented with their situation and attached to their officers. I may assure your Lordship that they are a fine body of men, zealous on service and notwithstanding the short time they have been embodied, perfectly obedient and well disciplined. They were with Lord Cornwallis in Jersey, and were honored by his Lordship with the advance posts, both in camp and in march. His Lordship has complimented their behavior in both situations.

Their loss by desertion was very trifling; and one man being taken in the attempt, the vigorous punishment which his comrades inflicted upon him showed the abhorrence in which his crime was held by the generality of the Battalion. The advantages attending this corps led me to strengthen it with near 80 men from the regiment of Roman Catholic Volunteers, which from the inattention of the officers to the terms of their warrant and their utter disregard of all discipline I found it necessary to reduce.

The regiment has been clothed and is now completely appointed, at the sole expense of the officers. The commissions have been filled in a manner very different from what had been adopted with regard to other corps of the Provincial establishment. This corps has been officered principally from the regular regiments one step alone of promotion being allowed except in the case of the Lieut. Colonel who was only Captain Lieut. in the 55th regiment. My motive for permitting so many regular officers to serve in this regiment will I trust be approved by His Majesty, as the present dicipline of this regiment will answer that those officers could not have been more serviceably employed. Some commissions have been filled from the Provincial Line; and as those officers were chosen for meritorious

service, their appointment will I hope be thought no bar to the application I am about to make. From the particular circumstances of this corps, I beg leave to submit to your Lordship whether the establishing it as a regular regiment may not be a mark of approbation which would be attended with very beneficial consequences. There are many reasons to be urged in favor of the measure. The motives on which it was levied, and the light in which it stands, speaks strongly for it. The expense of appointing the regiment so as to have taken the field within four months after the date of their warrant, has been very heavy upon the officers. The discipline and serviceable state of the corps argue a strict attention of duty. And the promotion in general has not been extravagant. All the officers have shown themselves equal to the duties of the ranks they hold. The Colonel and the Lieut. Colonel only cannot from their former situations have any expectations of being confirmed. The latter would be highly contented with the rank of Major; the former will not apply for anything himself. He would think himself favored in being appointed Lieut. Colonel to it. But would not be disappointed were the post otherwise disposed of. The regiment is regarded by the other Provincials as upon so different a footing from their's that its establishment could create no murmurs. Inclose to your Lordship a list of the officers by which your Lordship will see that some have resigned their commission in the regular service, in consequence of my ordering such officers of the regiments under General Grant as held Provincial commissions to decide by which they would abide. It would be a powerful temptation to the Irish, were I authorized to hold forth to them his Majesty's pardon for all crimes heretofore committed by them in Ireland, except murder. The prospect of returning home without apprehension to their families, might have very extensive influence and under such restrictions as your Lordship may judge adviseable, I humbly conceive could produce no evil to the state.

There may be objections to this measure which do not immediately occur to me. I only state it as a hint which may suggest to your Lordship, further and more determinate ideas on the subject. Both this and the expediency of establishing the volunteers of Ireland I submit with great deference to your Lordship. In the meantime I shall give all encouragement to the recruiting of that corps, which I think may probably increase to a second battalion.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect, your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant.

H. CLINTON.

The source of the above is *Stephen's Fac-Simile Documents Relating to America*, 1773–1783, in 25 volumes. The extract is from Document No. 1162. The letter of General Clinton is No. 1190.

But the "establishing" or incorporation of THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND into the regular army seems not to have been favorably regarded by the authorities at London.

Sir Henry Clinton writing to William Eden, who had been one of the so-called Peace Commissioners sent to America in 1778, said:

'Tis pity Government does not establish the VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND; it will be really saving so many men to the State, the corps is well officered, their officers have been taken great pains, many of them have quited equal rank with the regular troops. Lord Rawdon has the greatest merit in the care he has taken and he has been at enormous expense, his Lieutenant Colonel though he was only Captain-Lieutenant in the 55th Regiment has had a principal merit in the making the Regiment what it is; he does not expect any other rank than that of Major. I can't see any reason why it should not be established when I hear of others that are. I cannot flatter myself that my wish to have it done will operate in the least, but I now repeat that merely for the good of the Service I most cordially wish it would be so." [Steven's *Fac-Similies*, Nov. 13. p. 3.]

As late as 1782 after the VOLUNTEERS had done good service the Regiment had not yet been "established" for William Eden writing to Lord Loughborough from Dublin Castle, 22d January, 1782, stated he had dined with Lord Rawdon; that his "services have been most highly praised, but Lord Amherst still hesitates about putting his Regiment on the establishment tho he has expended near 700 pounds on the Regiment in the King's service." [ibid. No. 1049.]

THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND were formed in Philadelphia during British occupancy and retreated therefrom on its evacuation, engaged in the Battle of Monmouth and proceeded to New York.

The officers of the Regiment as shown by the Army LIST of 1779, were:

COLONEL:—Rt. Hon. Lord Rawdon, Adjutant General to General Clinton.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL:—Welbore Ellis Doyle.

MAJOR:—John Despard.

CAPTAINS:—John Campbell, John Doyle, James King, William Barry.

CAPTAIN-LIEUTENANT:—David Dalton.

LIEUTENANTS:—Charles Vallency, Charles Bingham, Thomas Proctor, Samuel Bradstreets, Hugh Gillespie, Henry Munro, James Moffat, Harman Black, John Jewell.

ADJUTANT:—John Jewell.

QUARTERMASTER:—Hugh Stuart.

SURGEON:— ——— Armstrong.

ENSIGNS:—Edward Gilbourne, Thomas Hyn, Hugh Stuart, George Cunningham, John Thompson, Davies Whitely, John Wilson, H. P. Sergeant, Mark Ransford.

CHAPLAIN:— ———.

On St. Patrick's Day, 1779, the following advertisement appeared in *The Royal Gazette*, of New York:

All Gentlemen Natives of Ireland are invited to join the VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND, commanded by their Countryman

LORD RAWDON.

A Corps in which every Recruit is sure of finding Townsmen or Relations. The terms of enlistment are for Three Years or during the war. Every Recruit shall on his enlistment receive 30 s. sterling and be equipped in the most complete manner. Those who wish to distinguish their attachment to their country by entering in this Corps are desired to apply at the quarters of the regiment in the Bower Lane, New York, or to Lieut. Col. Doyle's quarters, No. 10 Wall Street.

The same day the VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND celebrated THE DAY. The report in *The Royal Gazette* of March 20th and the *New York Gazette*, March 22d reads:

Last Wednesday the anniversary of Saint Patrick, the Tutelar Saint of Ireland, was celebrated by the Natives of that Kingdom, with their accustomed Hilarity. The VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND, preceded by their Band of Music, marched into the City and formed before the House of their Colonel, Lord Rawdon, who put himself at their Head and after paying his Compliments to his Excellency, General Knyphausen, and to General Jones, accompanied them to the Bowery, where Dinner was provided, consisting of five hundred covers;

after the Men were seated, and had proceeded to the enjoyment of the noble Banquet, the Officers returned to Town and dined with his Lordship. The soldierly Appearance of the men, their Order of March, Hand in Hand, being all Natives of Ireland, had a striking Effect; and many of their Countrymen have since joined them.

This single Battalion, though only formed a few months ago, marched four hundred strapping Fellows, neither influenced by Yankee or Ague. A Number perhaps equal to all the Recruits forced into the Rebel Army in the same Space of Time; which shews how easily Troops may be formed on this Continent, from the People who have been seduced into America; providing proper Measures are followed and they are headed by Men of their Choice: And also that such Men, however long they may have remained in the Haunts of Hypocrasy, Cunning and Disaffection, being naturally gallant and loyal, crowd with Ardour to stand forth in the Cause of their King, of their Country and real honest general Liberty whenever an Opportunity offers.

"As early as March 8th, 1778, it was King George's intention to have an attack made on the Southern provinces with a view to the conquest of Georgia and South Carolina" and for this purpose he directed Lord George Germain to endeavor "to embody the well affected inhabitants by a militia" and to plan "to draw from the Rebel forces Europeans, apprentices and indented servants."

On August 14th, 1779, three deserters from "The Loyal Volunteers of Ireland" arrived in Philadelphia from New York. [*Pa. Ar.* VII—646.]

In November, 1779, The Volunteers of Ireland, a Regiment of Hessians and other detachments aggregating 1800 men were sent to the Chesapeake Bay and River to destroy vessels and stores. They wrought much destruction but had no engagement with "the Rebels." They returned to Staten Island, New York, after an absence of twenty-four days. [Siedman's *History of the War* 11–136.]

Here is how the Volunteers of Ireland celebrated St. Patrick's Day, 1780.

"March 18, 1780.—A munificent entertainment was given by Lord Rawdon, Colonel of the Volunteers of Ireland, to his regiment, quartered at Jamaica, Long Island, in honor of St. Patrick, tutelar

Saint of that Kingdom. Song by Barney Thompson, piper to the regiment, Tune, Langolee:

Success to the Shamrogue and all those who wear it,
Be honor their portion wherever they go;
May riches attend them, and store of good claret,
For how to employ them sure none better know.

Every foe surveys them with terror,
But every silk petticoat wishes them nearer;
So Yankee keep off, or you'll soon learn your error,
For Paddy shall prostrate lay every foe.

This day, (but the year I can't rightly determine,)
St. Patrick the vipers did chase from this land,
Let's see if, like him, we can't sweep off the vermin
Who dare 'gainst the sons of the Shamrogue to stand.

Hand in hand, let's carol this chorus
"As long as the blessings of Ireland hang o'er us,
The crest of Rebellion shall tremble before us,
Like brothers, while thus we march hand in hand!"

St. George, St. Patrick, St. Andrew, St. David,
Together may laugh at all Europe in arms,
Fair Conquest her standard has o'er their heads waved,
And Glory has on them conferr'd all her charms.

War's alarms! to us are a pleasure,
Since Honor our danger repays in full measure,
And all those who join us shall find we have leisure,
To think of our sport ev'n in war's alarms.

On Christmas Day and the day following, Sir Henry Clinton had sailed from New York on an expedition against Charleston, leaving THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND on duty at New York. On March 23d, 1780, orders were given to the VOLUNTEERS to proceed to the South. They embarked on April 4th and set sail on the 7th reaching Clinton's camp before Charleston, on April 21st, 1780.

The VOLUNTEERS were assigned to Lord Cornwallis' Corps. On the night of the 23d they with the New York Volunteers and the Carolina Loyalists passed over the Cooper River under Cornwallis, who took command of all the forces there, expecting to soon be "master of all the enemy's communications and means of escape by land" records Captain Peter Russel, of Cork, of the 64th Regiment. [*Am. His. Reg.* IV—499.]

Cornwallis pursued Morgan into North Carolina, leaving Rawdon to command in South Carolina with headquarters at Camden, coming in Cornwallis' rear while Sumter and Marion "cooped up the garrison at Charleston, intercepting supplies and surprising posts."

In June, 1780, Lord Rawdon with the VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND and a detachment of Cavalry entered the Waxhaw Irish Presbyterian settlement and paroled the inhabitants "an obligation they readily violated when called to arms by the American commander" recorded Rawdon.

No Irish settlers recruited the VOLUNTEERS on that expedition but many of the VOLUNTEERS, perhaps, some of the former ROMAN CATHOLIC VOLUNTEERS, deserted. So numerous were the desertions from Rawdon at this time that while at Camden, South Carolina, on July 1st, 1780, he directed Major Rugely, who commanded the outlying districts, to deal severely with all who harbored deserters and to "use invariable severity towards everyone who shall show so criminal a neglect of the public interests."

Concerning THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND, he offered:

"I will give the inhabitants ten guineas for the head of any deserter belonging to THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND and five guineas only if they bring him in alive. They shall likewise be rewarded, though not to that amount, for such deserters as they may secure belonging to any other Regiment. [Hartley's *Life of Marion.* p. 130.]

Washington made the letter a subject of complaint to Lord Cornwallis who applied to Rawdon for an explanation. He did so to this purport.

Lord Cornwallis had sent Rawdon and THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND to the Waxhaw "thinking" wrote he to Cornwallis "in December" that as it was an Irish corps it would be received with a better temper by the settlers of that district who were universally Irish and universally disaffected.* * *Yet I had the fullest proof that the people who daily visited my camp not only held constant

correspondence with the rebel militia, but used every artifice to debauch the minds of my soldiers and persuade them to desert from their colors."

THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND were marked more strongly than others because it was my own Regiment and partly because incitement to desertion had been more particularly applied to them." [Cornwallis' Correspondence I—Appendix 501.]

THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND participated in the Battle of Camden August 16th, 1780. The report of the VOLUNTEERS engaged shows it had in the engagement: 1 Colonel; 4 Captains; 4 Lieutenants; 6 Ensigns; 1 mate; 23 Sergeants; 11 Drummers; 253 rank and file. [Beaton's *Memoirs.* VI—Ap. 211.]

The VOLUNTEERS lost in the battle 17 rank and file killed, and 1 Lieutenant, 3 Ensigns, 2 Sergeants, 1 Drummer, 64 rank and file wounded. [Tarleton's Campaigns 1—136.]

For bravery at the Battle of Camden, Sergeant Hudson was presented with a medal of honor. It had the Irish Harp in an open wreath of laurel with the motto: IT CALLS TO ARMS. [*Medallic Illus. of Great Britain*, by Hawkins, Franks and Grueb, London, 1885, p. 268.]

He probably "prostrate laid every foe" as he had sung on St. Patrick's Day.

At Camden, Rawdon "lost so many men that he was afraid of suffering himself to be again shut up, and therefore after setting fire to the town he quitted it and retired towards Charleston. Greene pursued him some distance but judging it more important to break up the enemy's posts he invested forts Granby, Motte and others." [Charles Thomson Papers. N. Y. His. Col. 1878 p. 47.]

The figures show 303 officers and men. Allowing for desertions from time of organization in Philadelphia early summer of 1778 and the possible number of recruits obtained in New York it may be set down that at no time did the "Regment" ever exceed five hundred including the "near eighty men" of the ROMAN CATHOLIC VOLUNTEERS whose merging into the VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND is the sole cause of this brief narrative of the career of the so-called "large Regiment" in a work relating to the CATHOLICS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

Another engagement in which THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND participated was that of Hopkirk's Hill.

Thereafter the VOLUNTEERS remain undistinguished in reports. Losses and desertions no doubt reducing the "Regiment" to but a remnant of its original force. The few VOLUNTEERS who may have remained in the ranks of the British were surrendered at Yorktown. THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND were on the Army List as the 105th Regiment.

There is lack of evidence that the "Regiment" ever numbered five hundred men, even if all were deserters from the American Army Bancroft seems to have spoken in exaggeration. It little matters, however, as the Regiments recruited in Ireland fully supplied any deficiency in the numbers of THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND.

WHY CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON SIGNED THE DECLARATION.

When I signed the Declaration of Independence, I had in view not only our independence of England, but the toleration of all sects professing the Christian religion, and communicating to them all equal rights. Happily this wise and salutary measure has taken place for eradiating religious feuds and persecution, and becoming a useful lesson to all governments. Reflecting on the disabilities, I may truly say of the proscription of the Roman Catholics of Maryland, you will not be surprised that I had much at heart, this grand design founded on mutual charity, the basis of our holy religion. [Charles Carroll of Carrollton, to Geo. Washington P. Curtis, Baltimore, 20th February 1829.—From (N. Y.) *Truth Teller* March 1829, Vol. V., p. 67, 2d column.]

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